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No. 1, January 1984

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No 1, January 1984

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ENGLISH SUMMARIES OF MAJOR ARTICLES IN 'MEMO' JOURNAL

Moscow MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA in Russian No 1, Jan 84
pp 158-159

[Text] A. Yakolev in the article "Cancer of Imperial Ambitions in Atomic Century" turns to an analysis of historical development of American imperialism testifying that the USA has a record of conquests, colonization and expansion in the 19th century. The point is that the USA was the first to unleash an imperialist war in world history, the first to use the atomic weapon, to resort to nuclear "deterrence", the first to develop new kinds of weapons thus aggravating international tension. The United States created a global network of nuclear bases in Western Europe, Asia, Africa, Latin America, Middle East and the Ocean islands. Having examined the history of American ambitions the author comes to the conclusion that they have transformed into a political doctrine, conceptualising the role of militarism in American life. The author reveals how in the course of transformation of American capitalism the inhuman features of its economic and social structure have become ever more evident. But if the imperial ambitions of American imperialism were hopeless in the past the still more they are futile today, when the alignment of forces rule out US domination in the world. Reliance on military power as a means of gaining a world predominant position only confirms how reckless and short-sighted are the American politicians. The author states that the present militaristic and chauvinistic American course demands high vigilance.

P. Navrozov and E. E. Plotnikov in the article "Soviet-Vietnamese Relations-Factor of Peace and Creativeness" consider a broad range of problems, covering various forms of contacts between the USSR and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in the past few years. The article points out that the Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation concluded on November 3, 1978 between the two countries was an important milestone in these relations, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. This Treaty has enhanced the co-operation of the two countries to a qualitatively new higher level in solving the tasks of communist and socialist construction. Citing numerous facts and figures the article analyses the many-sided cooperation of the USSR and Vietnam in such fields, determined by the Treaty, as political, economic and cultural, which benefits the two countries' national-economies. The article informs about the major lines along which Soviet aid is being directed to the S.R.V. and the largest projects being constructed in Vietnam with the technical help of the USSR. At present the Soviet-Vietnamese Treaty has become one of the links in the system of international

juridical acts, uniting the countries of the socialist community. The co-operation of the S.R.V. with the CEMA member states is being expanded steadily on a bilateral and multilateral bases. Unity of views on vital issues of their constructive peace-loving policy assumes special importance at present, when the situation on the Planet has been exacerbated due to bellicose imperialist actions. The USSR and S.R.V. are waging a joint struggle to avert a nuclear war and ensure world peace.

Efforts to prevent the militarization of outer space is an inseparable part of the struggle to avert the danger of nuclear holocaust. The article "To Ward off Militarization of Outer Space" by S. Stashevsky is dedicated, to this problem. It examines such pressing issues of today as: the US plans for the deployment of new, super modern type of weapons in outer space and Soviet activities in the international arena to prevent such a development of events. At the same time the article sheds light upon the discussion of the problem of preventing the militarization of outer space at the 36th, 37th and 38th U.N. General Assembly sessions and at other international forums. The article shows the Soviet Union's serious approach to the question of preventing an arms race in outer space. The draft of the treaty on the prohibition of the use of force in and from the outer space in relation to the earth is a good proof of that.

During the 70's and the early 80's the world economic development of capitalism has become truly polycentral reflecting the distinct alteration of the balance of imperialist forces within the triangle U.S.A.-Western Europe-Japan. Yu. Stolyarov, and E. Khesin in the article "Three Centers of Force in the Economy of Modern Capitalism" emphasize the beginning of the new stage of the imperialist struggle aimed at the economic redivision of the capitalist world. The authors subsequently highlight the macroeconomic performance of the United States, West European countries /primarily, the Common Market member-countries/ and Japan, investigating the internal and external factors of their further development.

Despite the strategic weakening of the global position the U.S.A. preserves its leadership in the world capitalist economy. Moreover, the U.S. offensive launched in the late 70's provided for certain temporary success in the competition with the Western Europe.

The shifts in the balance of forces has brought about the new aggravation of the interimperialist rivalry taking the most destructive forms namely trade wars, competition for the beneficial fields of capital investments, currency frictions, etc. They also intensified the attempts to work out the concerted measures in order to offset the negative effects of the rivalry, to elaborate the coordinated policy in relations with the socialist and with the developing countries. These attempts are doomed to fail in the long run due to the imminent unevenness of the capitalist development leading to the constant change in the balance of forces among the capitalist countries.

R. Andreasyan in the article "The Energy Aspect of Development and the Problem of Oil Prices" points out that the energy crisis has brought about sharp shifts in the world capitalist market in favour of oil. Due to a spasmodic

rise in oil prices the developing countries in the 1970s divided into two groups: exporters and importers of oil. The first group (the OPEC countries) succeeded on the whole in solving the problem of accumulation of capital in terms of value, adopted a policy of diversifying the economy and lessening its dependence from oil export. The second group suffered grave financial losses. The rising expenditures on oil import brought about the increasing financial dependence of these countries upon the centres of capitalism. The mounting oil prices were accompanied by the growth of inflation and the slowing down of the GNP of the West. However, the world capitalist economy succeeded in adapting, though at a heavy price, to the high oil prices but their drastic cut should be fraught with new grave consequences. The rise of oil prices in itself rests on objective ground because of the rental character of this commodity, the correlation between supply and demand in the market and the control over the narrow group of suppliers. In future one can expect a new, not nominal but actual, rise of prices particularly in the phase of cyclical boom.

"Secondary Raw Materials in Capitalist Economies: Soaring Significance" by A. Grigoryev is devoted to the analysis of the regeneration and recycling of raw materials regarding the environmental problems, the critical situation in the energy domain, in the sphere of natural resources.

The regeneration of practically all kinds of secondary raw materials acquired special attention and importance during the 1970's owing to the further aggravation of the capitalist reproduction antagonisms and also due to the consequences of the barbaric use of the primary raw materials. The catastrophic dimensions of the environment pollution, the mounting shortages of national resources of raw materials, the increase of costs necessary to promote the destruction of urban and industrial waste, the drastic rise of oil prices contributed the growth of interests to the regeneration of the secondary raw materials. The developed industrial states were forced to undertake certain concrete moves to adjust to the changing situation.

The consumption of the secondary raw materials is considered nowadays as a means to bring down the production, costs, to lower import and to improve the trade conditions. It also represents the incentive to bring about a new branch of industry promising considerable economic benefits.

The author observes the recycling particulars by country supporting his investigation by considerable statistical data, then proceeding to the analysis of the efficiency of the secondary raw materials production. He arrives at the conclusion that despite stimulating impact upon the overall production efficiency the consumption of the secondary raw materials is vulnerable to the recessive trends and uneven character of the capitalist development.

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AMERICAN IMPERIALISM, CONFRONTATIONAL NUCLEAR POLICIES SCORED

Moscow MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNNYE OTNOSHENIYA in Russian No 1, Jan 84
pp 3-17

[Article by A. Yakovlev: "Cancer of Imperial Ambitions in the Nuclear Age"]

[Text]

I

It has long been known that the Almighty created the United States "to control the peoples" and for "world leadership". There has perhaps not been a U.S. President who has not claimed that the Lord God endowed precisely this state with the special "divine mission" of ruling the world and making all people on earth happy by the implantation of its practices, its institutions and its way of life. In 1897 Sen A. Beveridge declared, for example, that "our destiny has planned our policy: world trade should be and will be ours.... American law, American order, American civilization and the American flag will be firmly established on shores which are as yet plunged in bloody wars and the gloom of ignorance, but will be made beautiful and bright by the hands of divine providence."¹

It is possible that at the very start of its life on American soil the idea of messianism was merely a magnetic phrase possessing a mystifying force of self-assertiveness. However, step by step it became transformed into a political concept sanctifying the aspiration to world hegemony. In parallel in the United States itself and elsewhere the understanding that behind the sermons of messianism stood the real goals of the U.S. ruling class grew. In 1895 even Sen H. Lodge, summing up the impressive results of U.S. expansionist policy, said that his country holds the record for "seizures, colonization and expansion the like of which has not been seen by any people in the 19th century."²

Back in 1823 the United States had been the first to introduce in practical usage the "sphere of exclusive vital interests" concept, having proclaimed as such no more, no less than all of Latin America. For the sake of the assertion of this "right" it unleashed in 1898 history's first imperialist war. In the period up to the end of World War II Washington's imperial appetites were blocked by similar ambitions and possibilities of the colonial empires which were powerful at that time. But following the rout of the Axis powers and with the weakening of the positions of the United States' traditional rivals and, on the other hand, the sharp increase in American imperialism there opened to Washington, in the estimation of its

strategists, the prospect of the speedy establishment of its domination. The monopoly of nuclear weapons also turned people's heads.

The United States was the first to use atomic weapons, wiping out the peaceful inhabitants of the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The goal was obvious: blackmailing the whole world with the nuclear threat. As of this moment the United States was the first to adopt a policy of nuclear deterrence and nuclear threats and the first to develop and produce new types of corresponding arms, thereby raising international tension on each occasion to a more dangerous level. The United States created history's first global network of foreign military, nuclear included, bases and occupation forces in West Europe, Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Near East and on oceanic islands. These bases perform a triple function: they create a real military threat to the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community, effect a system of military occupation for the purpose of preserving governments suitable for the United States and protect the economic interests of the American monopolies. They thereby step by step form the military foundation of the American Empire. It is also necessary to view in the same context American leaders' statements on the first use of nuclear weapons, the possibility of "protracted" and "limited" nuclear wars and "victory" in a nuclear war.

The messianic fervor of U.S. ruling circles has contributed to the hypertrophied growth of two monsters in the country: militarism and chauvinism. A little more than 15 years ago Robert Leckie wrote a book entitled "The Wars of America," certain pages of which give some idea of the role of militarism in American life.

To a greater extent with the help of war than peace, Leckie writes, "our institutions were proclaimed and defended, industry developed and culture enriched, our history became national, our art and science developed, but our hearts were broken." In terms of power of weapons, the author continues, we are now the strongest power on earth. But at what price! "Around us are threats and hatred. Our European allies waver and fall back. Our new allies in Asia do not like us." Here at home we are split in two and, seemingly, hate each other. In the world we are "the most military power". Whereas we once considered a strong standing army a threat to liberty, we now maintain millions of people in the armed forces. We have created a colossal military reserve system and reorganized the National Guard. For the sake of military security or in the interests of success in the course of confrontation we have granted the FBI rights and afforded the CIA an opportunity to conduct operations on a scale which was previously inconceivable, not to mention intolerable. For the sake of military security several of our fellow citizens on the National Security Council "are in charge of the life and death of us all." The activity of the executive and, sometimes, of the legislature even is "shrouded in a veil of secrecy...." Science serves the interests of military security, they are served by the academic institutions also. Giant military dynasties have emerged on the basis of military requirements. The United States' colossal economic system "is fed to a considerable extent by military contracts or contracts connected with military production."

Where, in this case, Leckie asks, are we going? Are we becoming a world policeman? The author's answer is sensible: despite all its power, even the United States "lacks the resources, human strength, will and right for such work."³

Incidentally, there are plenty of doubters in the United States, but this is reflected insufficiently in the policy of the country's ruling upper stratum. The 15 years which have elapsed since Leckie's confession are characterized by a particularly dangerous orgy of militarism. And as a whole, according to calculations of the Brookings Institution, from 1946 through 1975 the United States employed armed forces for political purposes either directly or indirectly 215 times and was on 33 occasions on the verge of using nuclear weapons, on 4 occasions here against the Soviet Union.⁴ Essentially in the postwar world all the major military conflicts are on the conscience of the United States--Korea, Vietnam, Guatemala, Lebanon, Cuba, El Salvador and, finally, the occupation of Grenada, shattering in its barbarity.

On its entire lengthy path American interventionism has been accompanied by bragging and mercantile assertiveness to "sell" on the world market the "social values" of the American way of life. Let us speak plainly: the transatlantic "sellers of air" have not succeeded here. And in line with the reactionary transformation of American bourgeois society the antihuman features of its economic and social structure have been revealed increasingly distinctly--the domination of handful of billionaires who have enslaved the country, inequality, racism, militarism, the amorality and hypocrisy of political life, the moral chaos in culture and the insatiable thirst for gain. And the more strongly the claims to world leadership were pressed, the fewer were there of those wishing to crawl under the wing of the American eagle, if we do not count the fascist, totalitarian juntas, which easily find a common language with the leader of world reaction.

Currently on the rise in the United States is the invariable companion of militarism-chauvinism--which is a cover for the ideology of messianism. Its purpose is to befuddle Americans with the ideas of this country's "divine predestination," compel them to accept the concept of power as an instrument of international policy, justify all actions of the "leader nation" and cultivate a sense of the superiority of the "nation" and its way of life, which, it is said, guards against error and ensures a "happy future". The present administration is flirting particularly actively with the idea of a "reviving America". To awaken chauvinist sentiments cynical use is being made of alarmist methods--lies and intimidation with the "threat of Soviet aggression". The calculation is understandable: in an atmosphere of mass hysteria it is easier to obtain money for weapons and please the military corporations. Befuddling the consciousness, the spurious interpretation of the sense of "national pride" finds a certain response in the country. In other words, everything is proceeding in accordance with the well-known plan already used by Nazism.

In present-day American chauvinism has in practice assumed its extreme form--the form of jingoism⁵--a definition of which was given back in the last century by the British thinker J. Hobson. He wrote: "The jingoist is entirely absorbed by the risk and blind ferocity of struggle.... It is perfectly obvious that the visual sensuality of jingoism is a very serious factor of imperialism. The false dramatization of both war and the whole policy of imperialist expansion for the purpose of awakening this passion in the milieu of the broad masses occupies a considerable place in the art of the true organizers of imperialist exploits--the tiny groups of businessmen and politicians who know what they want and how to achieve it.

Blinded by a real or imaginary halo of military heroism and empire-building claims, jingoism is becoming the heart of a particular kind of patriotism which may be moved to whatever madness or crime one likes."

Present-day American jingoism is full of enthusiasm for and hopes of imposing the laws of the Wild West on the entire civilized world. Addressing Spanish-speaking Americans in September 1983, R. Reagan, for example, declared: "We believe in America's mission," "mankind links its brightest hopes with America" and "our country is the leader of the free world, and because of the demands of morality we cannot evade this responsibility." The President speaks about this incessantly. In such assertions--bragging, meaningless verbiage, poseurism--there is not much of anything. But the danger lies elsewhere: the American ruling upper stratum sees the achievement of world domination as its goal, and quite a few Americans believe in the rationality of this idea. As far as the choice of means for its realization are concerned, any of them are acceptable, whether it be direct intervention, counterrevolution, subversive activity, the murder of unsuitable leaders or war in all its varieties. By his political program the U.S. President has declared a "crusade" against communism in order to "consign" the latter to the "ashcan of history". The irrationalism taken to the point of absurdity is not, unfortunately, evoking an adequate moral protest on the part of American public opinion. Such is the extent of the chauvinist intoxication.

II

The core of the present strategy of the U.S. ruling oligarchy is a gamble on confrontation with the Soviet Union on any pretext and the achievement of "victory" in a nuclear war. The basis of military doctrine for the 1980's, as formulated by American strategists in 1981, is "direct confrontation" between the United States and the USSR. In the context of this strategy the United States' efforts are also aimed at forcing West Europe, Japan and other countries to adopt a system of international confrontation in which they would again--as in the first postwar decades--be subordinate to American power.⁶ In other words, confrontation and tension as a mechanism of controlling its own allies.

While elbowing his way toward the presidency Reagan called for a start on "moral and military rearmament" and a "clampdown on cynics, pacifists and appeasers." Having become president, he has overfulfilled a program of arms

race and the stirring of chauvinism. Military spending is now calculated in hundreds of billions of dollars. He has been able to raise a wave of militarist hysteria which constitutes a real danger to peace, but also serves--among other tasks--the cause of suppressing the democratic and moderate forces in the United States itself and strengthening the neofascist trends in the country. The bellicose clique currently in power in Washington has strained the international atmosphere to the limit, proceeding from the short-sighted idea that such a state of affairs best serves the interests of monopoly capital both globally and regionally.

The deployment of American nuclear missiles in West Europe which has begun is an irresponsible step toward a further increase in tension in the world. Underpinning Reagan's "crusade" program with a nuclear missile base cannot be termed anything other than adventurism and recklessness, which could have unpredictable consequences. The long concentrated propaganda campaign, shameless political and economic pressure, arm-twisting in the diplomatic sphere, demagogic and outright deception not only of the peoples but of a number of governments of the allies have borne bitter fruit. The United States and the R. Reagan administration have succeeded in compelling certain West European countries to accept on their territory first-strike weapons targeted against the USSR and its allies. To judge by everything, West Europe is now beginning to sober up a little, realizing the scale and potential consequences of what has been done. As the statement of Yu. V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, rightly emphasized, "with the deployment of American missiles on European soil there will be an increase not in Europe's security but in the real danger that the United States will bring catastrophe to the peoples of Europe."⁷ There is also an immeasurable increase in the West European states' dependence in the most cardinal questions of their security and their very existence on the arbitrariness of the Washington "crusaders"--an arbitrariness which they are unable to and will not control.

It has to be seen that the leaders of the U.S. Administration have lost political, psychological and behavioral brakes in international affairs. Bellicosity and hysteria have gained the upper hand in relations with other countries. The impression is being created that the present planners of America's foreign policy lack a knowledge of the fact that international realities are of an objective nature, are expressed in dispassionate facts and do not forgive actions which clash with the demands of life. As the book "Building the Peace" observes, history "is littered with the shells of the policy of leaders and countries which acted on the basis of their own illusions and not reality."⁸ And neither emotions nor verbal charm, for which the present U.S. leaders are so avid, can do away with reality and suppress it with ambitious wilfulness.

Of course, Reagan's anti-Sovietism and anticommunism are not, as the journal FOREIGN AFFAIRS observes, a "surprise". The present U.S. President has confessed this primitive ideology for many years. He has run for election with it twice.⁹ His paranoid hatred of the Soviet Union has always been and remains demonstrative, and hysterics the standard behavior. But however

provocative the behavior of certain American leaders and given all its subjective coloration, we cannot fail to see therein the U.S. ruling circles' fundamental priming for the achievement of imperial goals. Behind the political course as a whole stand the perfectly recognized class--economic and political--interests of this country's ruling forces.

Washington's hegemonist ambitions have undergone repeated transformations in tactics since the war, but the strategy has remained invariable. In the first years of peace the U.S. rulers, confident of their military superiority and using their economic power and also the fact of the devastation of Europe and Japan, forged straight ahead toward armed imperial splendor and the sweet dream which America's economic kings had cherished for many years. The first open volley of the cold war was heard in W. Churchill's notorious Fulton speech (March 1946). And a year later--on 12 March 1947--the cold war was made official in H. Truman's presidential message to Congress. The then U.S. President employed the method of "shock therapy" in order by way of awakening an artificial fear in the face of the USSR to create the conditions for American military-political and economic expansion. Since then this has become the standard method. H. Truman's message still serves as a kind of foreign policy catechesis, particularly in the part containing claims to world hegemony.

The very next year, 1948, NSC Directive 68 designated the Soviet Union as the United States' "principal enemy" and planned to pull our country into an arms race for the purpose of its economic exhaustion. Throughout the postwar time American political scientists actively developed this proposition (the doctrine of the "economic exhaustion" of the USSR acquired particularly clear outline in the works of C. Bowles). The same directive provided for the organization of future secret subversive operations and the development of "psychological warfare". As far as relations with the USSR and negotiations on urgent problems of international life are concerned, they were conceived merely in the plane of forcing the Soviet Union to "retreat" under the pressure of military, economic, diplomatic, political and propaganda measures.

Nuclear blackmail was firmly established at the center of U.S. military strategy. Practically all postwar presidents threatened to use nuclear weapons. Specific plans for a nuclear attack on the USSR were drawn up under H. Truman and D. Eisenhower. In the development of these plans U.S. statesmen made threatening statements, betraying the true goals of the American ruling circles. Secretary for the Navy Matthews, for example, proposed "turning war into an institution to compel cooperation in the interests of peace.... We would be the first aggressor for peace"¹⁰ (incidentally, today Reagan also talks about war for the sake of peace). General Anderson was prepared to go even further: "We are in a state of war.... Order me, and in a week I will smash five areas in Russia with atom bombs."¹¹ D. Eisenhower threatened to use nuclear weapons against the DPRK and China. J. Kennedy also invoked the atom bomb at the time of the West Berlin events in 1961 and the Caribbean crisis in 1962. L. Johnson and R. Nixon repeatedly threatened nuclear weapons in the course of the United States' armed intervention in Indochina. J. Carter and, following him, R. Reagan openly spoke of the

United States' "right" to a nuclear first strike and also of the possibility of a "local" nuclear war, a "protracted" nuclear war and victory therein.

Essentially Reagan has added little to the foreign policy doctrine formulated by the U.S. ruling elite in the times of Truman and subsequent presidents. Even then communism was declared the source of all the West's troubles, and the existence of the Soviet Union a threat to the United States' "national interests". The militarism and bellicose chauvinism of the Reagan administration represent a logical continuation, prepared over many years, of the strategy of American imperialism. The approaches to world affairs remain fundamentally unchanged, they vary in tactics, but their strategic essence remains as before--a policy aimed at a world empire via a victorious nuclear war.

Furthermore, each president relies on ideas and recommendations which are formulated in this form or the other by economic and military-political elites. There are few people who would now deny that foreign policy, like all the affairs of state of this country, is in the hands of big business. Practically all the key positions pertaining to the formulation and implementation of the United States' strategic line in the international arena are occupied by representatives of the industrial-financial oligarchy. The same forces pay for the activity of various centers, institutes and groups specializing in theoretical, political and economic evaluations of the international situation and the development of recommendations for government bodies. An analysis of these conclusions and recommendations testifies that fundamentally they always correspond to the interests of the ruling plutocracy and continue their life in the United States' practical actions in the international arena.

In particular, the ideas of a departure from the relaxation of international tension and a revision of the positive changes which had occurred in the first half of the 1970's in Soviet-American relations and East-West relations as a whole had been maturing in the U.S. ruling class for quite a long time. Shortly after the completion of the All-European Conference and the signing in Helsinki of the Final Act the New York Council on Foreign Relations--a most influential organization of the industrial-financial elite in the United States--evaluated to what extent the policy of detente, equal cooperation and disarmament corresponded to U.S. "national interests". Its conclusion amounted to the need for a resumption of confrontation and hostility toward the USSR. Numerous meetings and seminars organized on the basis of the results of this "analysis" were oriented toward proving the desirability of a "cooling" of relations with the USSR, a "lowering" of expectations of Soviet-American cooperation, "tightening" relations as a whole and emphasizing the "strengthening of NATO" and new military programs.¹²

The subject of the struggle for "human rights" outside of the United States was proposed as the cover for a transition to confrontation. The said campaign was simultaneously a means of diverting attention from the degradation of American society itself, which was manifested particularly visibly in the Watergate scandal and the cruelty of the U.S. Army in Vietnam. A mechanism of interference in the socialist countries' internal affairs was also developed under the flag of "defense of human rights". Following a sufficiently intensive propaganda campaign and the fabrication of "facts"

and "arguments," the "human rights" proposition also became a principal proposition of Carter's election campaign and became the official bugbear of "psychological warfare".

The cynicism of this campaign was obvious, but the calculation of its instigators was clear also: first, to cover the most flagrant mocking of man and his rights in the United States itself, second, to gradually create a climate of hostility and mistrust in relations with the Soviet Union and poison the atmosphere of detente, which, it turned out, did not correspond to the interests of the U.S. ruling oligarchy. It is indicative that when this task had been accomplished as a whole, the Reagan administration, which had taken office, sharply narrowed the thrust of the "human rights" campaign: the new president declared that the latter did not interest him if it were a question of countries "friendly" to the United States, that is, states in which pro-American fascist-like dictatorships and juntas are in power.

Even in the period of the most intensive progress of the relaxation of tension U.S. bourgeois political science did not tire of creating a variety of concepts justifying the waging of this variety of war or the other, which undermined the possibility of the formation of an atmosphere of trust. A multitude of debates was conducted on the subject of versions of the use of military force, of which three were highlighted--war itself, the threat of it being unleashed and deterrence. The possibilities of U.S. participation in strategic and local nuclear wars were examined from various aspects. The defenders of war put much effort into theoretically justifying the possibility of a "first" strike, which, according to the arguments of military-political theorists, could be "preemptive," warning an enemy prepared to deliver a first strike, and also "preventive," that is, not provoked by the other side.

The "limited strategic war" ("counterforce") and local nuclear conflict concepts, which became widespread, were "written in" to their general justification--so-called "flexible response". The latter was presented as a means of preventing a general conflict, but in fact served as a cover for an aggressor's possible arbitrary actions.¹³ As far as the currently fashionable "deterrence" theory is concerned, the basis of it also has been the possibility of the realization of nuclear force. The "deterrence" concept in practice modifies the well-known "brinkmanship" policy. The interpretation of "deterrence" provided by American political scientists is quite wide--from the notorious "containment" of the 1950's through American interventionist adventures of recent times. It is important to emphasize that in the period of the relaxation of tension also all these word formations on the subject of war proceeded from the premise of conflict and not the peaceful solution of problems which arise. R. Hillsman writes that "war is part of the future."¹⁴ R. Wesson admits that the United States has never promised not to use nuclear weapons.¹⁵ Thus the program-conceptual basis for Reagan's political decisions had been prepared in practice. Reagan adopted the recommendations which had been formulated and brought them to the level of attempts to achieve the practical possibility of a "nuclear first strike" and "U.S. victory" in a nuclear conflict, thereby spurring militarist hysteria to ominous limits. "Peace is the product of strength," Reagan said at a

press conference on 11 November 1982. "Today the world expects leadership from America. America looks to its armed forces," he declared a year later.¹⁶ Reagan had already managed to shed considerable blood in this interval--of Americans, Lebanese, Palestinians and Grenadians.

III

The question arises: why did U.S. ruling circles once consent to a change in the relations of the states of the two systems which acquired the name of relaxation of tension, that is, a certain easing of their confrontational approaches to peaceful matters and a strengthening of aspects of cooperation? There are many reasons here--both internal and external. Primarily the military defeat in Vietnam--the first in U.S. history. Washington's imperial ambitions dimmed somewhat in the gloomy light of the failure of the intervention and they "lost weight," which led to a certain erosion of the messianic doctrine of American dominion. There was also a strengthening of the voice of the realistic circles in American society which had always doubted that the hegemonic course in the international arena corresponded to U.S. national interests. Isolationist trends increased also.

Further, the American ruling oligarchy was somewhat sobered by the Soviet Union's achievement of military-strategic balance with the United States. Henceforward the latter could not annihilate the Soviet Union without thereby dooming itself to annihilation. World politics changed its course and character. And it cannot be said that certain circles in the United States did not hear the funeral knell in connection with the policy of nuclear blackmail.

A retreat was inevitable. The new situation also dictated new tactics, although any changes which did not lead to world hegemony manifestly contradicted the settled dogmas of Washington's foreign policy philosophy. Nor was it possible to ignore the increased authority of the Soviet peace-loving foreign policy. Its constructive nature served as a considerable barrier in the way of American adventures.

Practicable steps were taken which created opportunities for cooperation, the solution of disagreements at the negotiating table and the shaping of elements of trust. The world began to breathe more easily, and hope came to replace fear. But even the positive measures which had been dictated by the atmosphere of detente were implemented by the American leaders reluctantly, beneath them was always the shifting sand of reservations and they were sometimes accompanied by actions manifestly contrary to the meaning of the agreements which had been reached. In the interpretation of powerful right-wing forces in the United States detente had always been a "dead letter" and an impracticable concept. It was portrayed as a concession to the Soviet Union and as "approval," unprofitable to the United States, of the objective revolutionary and progressive changes on the map of the world. The idea of the "disillusionment" with detente and its noncorrespondence to U.S. "national interests" was propagandized particularly unfortunately. As W. Griffith emphasizes in his book "The Super Powers and Regional Tensions," the United States consented to Soviet-American dialogue from purely business

considerations, and the detente process was not regarded by its rightwing circles as a political policy intended for the long term.¹⁷

The latter contains the essence of a somber truth. Whereas an easing of tension and the threat of war is in the interests of all peoples of the world, American included, for the U.S. ruling elite--economic, military and political--this process means a loss of profits from military supplies, makes a policy of plunder in the developing countries more difficult and reduces the possibility of the cult of strength, to which U.S. rulers are so accustomed. After all, the signing of the ABM Treaty (1972) alone, for example, entailed a loss of multibillion-dollar potential military orders. Furthermore, it is estimated that of the 72 types of raw material vitally important for the military economy, 69 are imported (fully or partially) from abroad, basically from the developing countries, and to obtain raw material at artificially understated prices obedient governments or occupation forces are needed.

An additional reason prompting the U.S. oligarchy to sharply break with the policy of the constructive development of Soviet-American relations were the new positive features in European affairs which had been engendered by detente. The apostles of confrontation and war were frightened by the centrifugal trends in NATO and the expansion of the Soviet Union's commercial-economic relations with the West European countries, which inevitably led to a strengthening of their independence of the American partner. If to this we add the shaken U.S. hegemony on world markets, where it had become increasingly uncomfortable for the U.S. monopolies in the atmosphere of hard competitive struggle with the firms of West Europe and Japan,¹⁸ the concerns of the American plutocracy, which prompted it once again to sharply turn the economic, political, military and propaganda flywheel in the direction of confrontation, arms race and the spurring of an atmosphere of fear, appear in a certain fullness and clarity.

Furthermore, Washington spends on military purposes more than the allies (according to data adduced in the book "Towards a New Cold War," in the United States per \$100 of output \$46 are spent on military purposes; in the FRG \$18 and in Japan \$3.7). This is leading to the United States' reduced competitiveness in the sphere of nonmilitary production. Forcing the allies to spend more on weapons means improving the conditions of the competitive struggle for the U.S. monopolies.¹⁹

But considerable efforts were needed to stifle detente. This policy was enjoying growing support in the world, which intimidated the U.S. ruling elite. As of 1977 at first cautiously, but then increasingly aggressively the mass media, carrying out the command of their bosses, began to play up the proposition concerning the "new military threat" on the part of the USSR. Dozens of well-financed committees emerged which proceeded to bombard Americans and the population of other countries with statements, articles, films, television programs and books intended to convince people that the United States--and with it the entire West--would die unless it threw new billions of dollars into new arms. The U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT called for "an immediate solution of the most important and costly defense issues." That

the USSR, of course, was contemplating an attack on the United States was being spoken of in 1978 even as an obvious fact. As far as the numerous Soviet proposals aimed at strengthening peace and detente and at disarmament are concerned, they were simply ignored. The "free" press did not report them. Thus once again the stereotype of the "enemy" was revived. Following a persistent campaign of intimidation, the NATO Council session in Washington in May 1978 (which was a cynical challenge to the UN General Assembly Special Disarmament Session being held at that time in New York) adopted a long-term program of an arms buildup and a 3-percent annual increase in the NATO countries' military spending.

However, reconciling the policy of spurring tension, saber-rattling and nuclear threats with phraseology about peace, at which U.S. presidents are great experts, was still quite complicated at that time. All the more concentrated was propaganda of the proposition concerning the "Soviet threat," the inevitability of a "first strike" on the part of the USSR, the "preparations in the Soviet Union for chemical and bacteriological warfare" and so forth. All this was a manifest lie, but it performed its official role, covering up America's own military preparations. The atmosphere in 1978-1979 was to a certain extent reminiscent of the postwar situation, when for the sake of justifying the militarization and preparations for a nuclear attack on the Soviet Union which had begun U.S. ruling circles under President Truman unleashed the cold war. In the somber days of the Korean War a cabinet-level consultative group called on the Truman administration to step up "the global offensive against communism, including the prolonged bombing of mainland China and diplomatic steps to secure 'moral justification' for the United States' nuclear attack on the Soviet Union...."²⁰

It is now fashionable in the United States to say that the complications in the world which forced this country to take the path of an arms race began with Afghanistan. A flagrant lie. The latest standard operation to deceive people to the effect that prior to December 1979 the American rulers were in a state of peaceableness and romantic pacifism is being played out. Let us take 1979. In February General Haig, commander in chief of NATO Armed Forces Europe, who under Reagan became secretary of state, was already predicting changes in U.S. policy and demanding the NATO countries' deployment of new weapons systems against the Warsaw Pact. Haig declared that such a policy presupposes a "struggle to the finish". That same February the decision on the deployment of medium-range missiles in Europe was adopted at the secret meeting of the heads of four powers (the United States, Britain, the FRG and France) on Guadeloupe. The forthcoming Global Shield exercises simulating the outbreak of a "nuclear war" were announced in March. The indoctrination of public opinion in an attempt to prove the "need" for the construction of new strike nuclear submarines in the United States began simultaneously. Active discussion began in May in the mass media of the question of the use of space for delivering a nuclear first strike. In the summer months of 1979 the propaganda media in conjunction with superhawk politicians conducted a concentrated attack on the SALT II Treaty, which was subsequently interred, to the delight of the big shots of the military-industrial complex. In the fall a Soviet "combat brigade" was "suddenly" discovered on Cuba. The longer it went on, the more there was of it. In

September 1979 President Carter declared at a press conference that he had adopted the decision to deploy the new MX mobile ICBM's. He requested that Congress increase the military budget a further 5 percent. The USSR's proposals concerning negotiations to reduce medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe were completely ignored. The plan for the deployment of the new American nuclear missiles on the European continent came to be actively imposed on the NATO countries. The official decision on this was adopted in mid-December 1979. Throughout the year there had been a buildup of American military power in the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean. On several occasions U.S. nuclear forces were brought to combat readiness for a strike against the USSR owing to "computer error" signaling the "approach of Soviet missiles". Finally, on 12 December 1979 the U.S. President called for defense spending to be raised to \$200 billion in the following 5 years and for the creation of a long list of new types of weapons.²¹

They are attempting to forget all this now. They speak about Afghanistan, Poland and other pretexts, spicing these insinuations with verbiage about the United States' "noble mission" in "defense" of democracy, that is to say, the establishment of an American totalitarian regime, where possible, throughout the world. The apostles of "American freedom" are not embarrassed here by the rapacious wars which the United States has waged and is waging, the genocide in respect of the Indians, racism, the persecution of the trade unions, the use of child labor, organized crime, the cultural degeneracy, the concentration of all power in the hands of a narrow group of superrich and many other "charms" of the American way of life.

To discredit detente and frustrate it U.S. leaders began to advance ultimatums and demands, each more provocative than the last. They pressed for amendments to internal laws of the USSR, changes in the Soviet social system in a direction approved by the United States, an end to the ideological struggle, the USSR's renunciation of support for national liberation movements and the United States' right to interfere in the USSR's internal affairs.

The obvious unacceptability of the absurd demands and their knowingly doomed nature were transformed by way of verbal manipulations into propositions to the effect that the policy of detente and a normalization of relations with the Soviet Union had not justified American hopes, that only the USSR had benefited from it and that detente had deprived the United States of resolution in the use of military force, weakened discipline among its partners, primarily in the NATO bloc, consolidated the national independence of many countries and the resolve of others to struggle for it and strengthened among the developing states the tendency to avoid an avowedly pro-American orientation. And since this was the case what was needed was a change to a policy which would correspond to Washington's expectations.

IV

Such a change in the direction of an unchecked arms race and war became a fact. The present U.S. Administration is attempting to revive the imperialist ideas of the 1920's concerning isolation of the USSR and encircling it with a ring of hostile states, and now nuclear bases also, and to once again

put in usage the language of blackmail and threats. It has legalized the international provocations of its "dirty tricks" departments and begun to come down with the old "crusades" ailment. The U.S. President has torn up virtually all the agreements reached with the Soviet Union earlier and suspended negotiations on the most urgent problems of international life. Without taking the trouble to think, he claims that "the Soviet Union is the cause of all the confusion in the world"²² and declares the USSR the "evil empire".²³ He is ready to risk all for the sake of war, but nothing for the sake of peace.

The standard methods of the propaganda cover for the nuclear madness in Europe are also being repeated anew. Having proclaimed a campaign against socialism as a social system, having begun within the framework of this policy the creation of the material basis for nuclear blackmail of the Soviet Union and having frustrated not only the possibility of the achievement of agreement at the negotiations on intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe but also these negotiations themselves, Washington began to put on the latest propaganda performance. On this occasion special use is being made of various versions of "regret" and "disappointment". Changing overnight the hawk's scheme for the dove's cooing, the White House is arguing with indescribable hypocrisy that it is ready to sit and wait in Geneva for the Soviet Union's return to the negotiations. Behind all this are merely the posturing and lies currently fashionable in Washington.

Who knows better than the present occupants of the White House that, if necessary, the USSR will implement the retaliatory measures about which it has plainly and candidly warned. "...Let no one expect from us unilateral disarmament," it was emphasized at the CPSU Central Committee November (1982) Plenum.²⁴ If the Geneva negotiations do not lead to a positive result and the American missiles come to be deployed in West Europe, Yu. V. Andropov observed in spring 1983 in an interview with the West German journal DER SPIEGEL, "we will find the means to respond to the Americans' actions both directly in respect of U.S. territory and in respect of Europe."²⁵ In July D. F. Ustinov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, again warned: "We will adopt retaliatory measures which will make the military threat to the territory of the United States and the countries on whose territory the American missiles will be deployed the same as the United States is attempting to create for the Soviet Union and our allies."²⁶ The inevitability of retaliatory measures on the part of the USSR and the Warsaw Pact states has been emphasized in the Soviet Government statements, at various meetings and in other authoritative documents and speeches. Yu. V. Andropov's statement of 24 November 1983 logically dotted the "i's". When now the mask of "astonishment" is being donned in Washington, the question arises: do people read at all there material of fundamental importance coming from the Soviet side?

Today the American cowboy shooting from the hip and indiscriminately is not only a "hero" to emulate but also a political symbol. The trouble for the United States is that its leaders have again returned to "simple solutions to difficult problems," believing that only force is capable of ensuring "national interests". The trouble is also that this country's ruling elite can in no way adapt to a changed world. Just yesterday virtually a

dictator in love with his own power, sated and self-assured, boasting of his wealth and prepared to bribe and to kill, if this became necessary. The long-awaited and longed-for lights of the "American century" were already being glimpsed, seemingly.

But however bitter for the lovers of dreams, the dream of the "American century" was not destined to be. But it is proving agonizingly difficult to become reconciled to this. And if the imperial ambitions of American imperialism were hopeless in the past, they are even more groundless in our day, when the correlation of forces which has taken shape in the world precludes the dominating position of the United States therein. The gamble on military power as a means of achieving world hegemony testifies merely to the recklessness and myopia of the present American politicians and the dangerous ossification of their thinking.

As has already been said, the situation in the United States currently is characterized by an orgy of chauvinism. Kindled from above, it is dimming the eyes of many Americans confused by the concentrated propaganda. It is befuddling them so powerfully that many of them even applaud such a U.S. crime as the bloody occupation of the tiny island state of Grenada. An utterance of the spokesman for the monopolies, THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, which came out with a threat typical of the mood of the American "hawks," is significant: "...It will be interesting to see who will dare to state openly that this use of American power was mistaken. If no one says that the events on Grenada were a mistake, why should any different morality operate throughout the rest of Latin America or the rest of the world?"²⁷

So, next is all the "rest" of Latin America and then the "rest" of the world. For example, the journal NATIONAL DEFENSE, on whose board of directors are the biggest merchants of death, published in the July-August 1983 issue²⁸ an article by the former employees of military intelligence W. Kennedy and S. de (Gayrki) entitled "Alternative Strategy for the 1980's. It set forth in detail plans to invade Siberia from bases in Alaska, Japan, South Korea and the Philippines. The United States begins the war, according to the plan, by a nuclear strike. The authors of the article write: "The advantage of a first strike was clearly demonstrated by the results of the use of nuclear weapons against Japan.... No words are capable of altering the fact that first use of nuclear weapons creates an opportunity if not to annihilate, then to paralyze an enemy, while 'mutual suicide' remains and, we would like to hope, will remain an unproven supposition." In this connection the journal urges the production and deployment of the MX, the Trident D5 and other types of first-strike weapons. The authors of the article claim that Reagan has already adopted certain components of this strategy, having announced plans to deploy a squadron of F-16 fighter bombers in the north of Japan and an airborne combat group in ports of the U.S. Pacific coast.

But this is not all. Kennedy and de (Gayrki) insist on an accelerated build-up of U.S. armed forces in the Northern Pacific targeted on Siberia with the participation of the majority of the 600 warships (Secretary for the Navy Lehmann wishes to create such a fleet), 6-8 aircraft carriers, heavy bombers

in Alaska and a large part of the Marine Corps. They propose deployment of the Pershing 2's and cruise missiles in the Western Aleutians in order "to introduce the nuclear aspect to the plans for the attack on the Soviet Union." The fact that the said plan includes the use of Japanese subunits on Hokkaido also attracts attention. The journal illustrates the article with a map of possible targets in the eastern USSR. Foremost are the areas over which the South Korean spy plane, which was carrying out an assignment of the American intelligence authorities, flew in September 1983. A list of the military equipment which the American invasion forces will need is adduced. The authors of the article are ecstatic about their plan and cynical in the extreme. The huge, basically unpopulated, expanses of Siberia, where the USSR has colossal natural resources, they write, prompt the thought of the use of tactical nuclear weapons.

It should be recalled that U.S. ruling circles always begin the implementation of aggressive actions with propaganda and the political-psychological preparation of its own and world public opinion for the adventures being planned. Soviet people also remember full well that American militarism already attempted a repeat of the "March across Siberia" at the time of the foreign military intervention aimed at stifling the young land of soviets. It should not be forgotten how ingloriously this "expedition" ended.

True, sober voices also are beginning to break through in the current stench of militarism, although there are as yet few hopes for the power of their influence. Gradually recovering from the protracted shock connected with the failure of the Carter presidency, on the threshold of the 1984 presidential election the Democrats have set about specifying their positions. House Majority Leader T. O'Neill, who earlier sympathized with many of Reagan's actions, has started at times to express himself differently. He told commentator J. Reston that he, O'Neill, was "scared" by the President's actions and that "Reagan "is pursuing the wrong policy," "flunking it," "is insufficiently competent" and "does not know what the job of government is and what the world situation is." In a fit of exasperation this veteran of the U.S. Congress declared: "It is wrong for such a person to be President of the United States." O'Neill also acknowledged that he has accurate knowledge that Reagan "had been looking for a chance to invade Grenada for 2 years."²⁹

The American current affairs writer R. Smith writes about the militarist character of the government, "intoxicated with the idea of strengthening its power and prepared on the least pretext and without such to use this power." And, further: "Possessed by the idea of military power, Ronald Reagan has not gotten it clear in his own mind that great-power status entails a certain responsibility. It is not simply an opportunity for mutual arm-twisting. It means understanding that force has its limits, that national prestige may be undermined if unworthy goals are supported and that not all interests are 'vitally important'. Our government has not grown up and evidently will not grow up now."³⁰

The awakening, albeit slowly, of the forces in the United States which, insuring against the stupor of recent years, are beginning to turn to sober evaluations is spoken of by the editor of THE NEW YORK TIMES also, who writes:

"For the past 3 years Reagan has cultivated a militarist mentality. Congress has the authority to save the country from the persistent slide toward war attendant on Reaganism. The question is: does it have the courage for this?"³¹ And, we would add, the desire.

A. Lincoln once said that "all the armies of Europe, Asia and Africa...led by Bonaparte would not be able with the aid of force to sup from the Ohio River, even if they tried for a thousand years."³² But only about 100 years have elapsed, and mankind has reached scientific-technical heights which have rendered the United States just as vulnerable in a military-strategic respect as any other state. Yet this country's ruling circles with a persistence worthy of a better application are unwilling to reconcile themselves to the new situation, which they are no longer capable of changing.

"In the two world wars," Yu V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, emphasized in his statement, "the territory of the United States was unaffected by the conflagration of destruction. Even now Washington would like to think that in deploying its medium-range missiles in Europe and thereby creating an additional nuclear threat for the socialist countries it will succeed in warding off a retaliatory strike from its home. As far as the security of the United States' West European allies is concerned, it is as if it is of interest to American leaders precisely to the extent that the West Europeans will be able with their lives and their cities to reduce the retribution against the United States itself if Washington succumbs to the temptation to unleash a nuclear war in the illusory hope of winning it."³³

There is no salvation in the serpent's lair. Equally, it is absurd to believe that security can be found in an arms race. Militarism has always been paid for with wars. The naive idea of the present U.S. leaders that the Soviet Union may by an arms race be driven into a corner and forced to submit cannot be explained in any way other than as blissful ignorance or a childish belief in miracles. As far as the messianic plans for world domination are concerned, they will inevitably end in unrealized hopes and bitter recovery from illusions.

The world public has a right to demand of the United States a change in the direction of the realities of world development and respect for the world community and its opinion and the international laws and rules of behavior accepted therein. We cannot today fail to hear the impassioned appeal in the book "Stop Nuclear War". H. Caldicott, the author of the foreword, writes: "We must work frantically to ensure life for all children of the world. It is not important whether our children clean their teeth and eat well if the possibility exists that they will not survive the next 20 years."³⁴

The present militarist and chauvinist policy of the United States demands higher-than-usual vigilance. It is a question of the need to step up the struggle against the impending danger, against the American military threat. The bag of profits, dollar madness and the messianic delirium about world dominion must not be allowed to perform the "dance of death" and gain the ascendancy over the life of mankind.

FOOTNOTES

1. C. Julien, "America's Empire," New York, 1973, p 42.
2. W. Williams, "The Contours of American History," New York, 1966, p 345.
3. See R. Leckie, "The Wars of America," New York, 1968, pp 978-979.
4. B. M. Blechman, S. S. Kaplan, "Force Without War. U.S. Armed Forces as a Political Instrument," Washington, 1978, pp 23, 48.
5. Jingoism--from "jingo," the name for imperial chauvinists which came into use in Britain in the 1870's. Subsequently this concept gained extensive currency in the United States, particularly in the period of the un concealed expansion of American imperialism. It denoted the supporters of extreme chauvinist views and sentiments, the crudest forms of the imposition of U.S. diktat on other countries and the cult of the racial superiority of White Americans over "colored" peoples. The term is still used today in this meaning.
6. See N. Chomsky, J. Steele, G. Gittings, "Superpowers in Collision," Harmondsworth, 1982, p 40.
7. PRAVDA, 25 November 1983.
8. S. Hoffman, C. Vance, "Building the Peace," Washington, 1982, p 4.
9. See FOREIGN AFFAIRS No 3, 1981, p 525.
10. A. Whiting, "China Crosses the Jalu: The Decision To Enter the Korean War," New York, 1960, p 92.
11. Ibid., p 96.
12. See "Council on Foreign Relations. Annual Report. September 1, 1977-June 30, 1978," New York, 1978, pp 11-12.
13. For more detail see M. Petrovskiy, "Concepts of Force and Their Evolution" (MEMO No 4, 1979).
14. See R. Hillsman, "The Crouching Future: International Politics and U.S. Policy. A Forecast," New York, 1975, p 627.
15. See R. Wesson, "Foreign Policy for a New Age," Boston, 1977, pp 52-53.
16. TIME, 14 November 1983, p 23.
17. See W. Griffith, "The Super Powers and Regional Tensions," Lexington, 1982, p 8.
18. In 1970 U.S. GNP constituted 30 percent of world GNP, but by the end of the decade only 20 percent. As of the mid-1970's American companies have to a considerable extent been ousted by foreign competitors from the majority of sectors determining the directions of economic growth.

18. (cont'd)

According to certain estimates, the United States' share of the total home electronics market has declined from 35 to 10 percent, steel from 26 to 17 percent and the auto market from 44 to 25 percent. The United States has lost its lead in the marketing of the products of the high-technology sectors, which were once an American monopoly. For example, the share of the sale of wide-bodied aircraft has declined in this period from 95 to 65 percent and in such an important sphere as semiconductors from 90 to 60 percent. In the 1950's the United States accounted for approximately 80 percent of innovations introduced in the world; now approximately 50 percent (see H. Lewis, D. Allison, "The Real World War," New York, 1982, pp 16, 110).

19. See N. Chomsky, "Towards a New Cold War," London, 1982, p 32.
20. THE WASHINGTON POST, 8 October 1978.
21. Ibid., 13 December 1979.
22. THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, 23 February 1981.
23. See U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, 21 March 1983, p 16.
24. PRAVDA, 23 November 1982.
25. Ibid., 25 April 1983.
26. Ibid., 31 July 1983.
27. THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, 26 October 1983.
28. See NATIONAL DEFENSE, July-August, 1983, pp 47-54.
29. THE NEW YORK TIMES, 1 November 1983.
30. Ibid., 30 October 1983.
31. Ibid., 3 October 1983.
32. Quoted from "Detente and Defense: A Reader," R. Pranger (ed.), Washington, 1976, p 43.
33. PRAVDA, 25 November 1983.
34. D. Barash, J. Lipton, "Stop Nuclear War," New York, 1982, p 10.

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OPPOSITION TO ARMS RACE IN SPACE, SOVIET ALTERNATIVES PRESENTED

Moscow MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA in Russian No 1, Jan 84
pp 28-38

[Article by S. Stashevskiy: "Preventing the Militarization of Space"]

[Text] Recently the Soviet Union has put forward a whole set of foreign policy initiatives providing for the adoption of measures of both a material and political-legal nature. Their purpose is a reduction in the threat of nuclear war and a curbing of the arms race. They include the extremely important proposals put forward by Yu. V. Andropov in a conversation with U.S. senators on 18 August 1983 for preventing the militarization of space, which provide for the implementation of a set of steps capable of averting the menacing and real danger of the spread of the arms race to space.

The Soviet Union submitted detailed considerations on this score for examination by the impending UN General Assembly 38th Session on 19 August. In accordance with the proposal set forth in a letter from A. A. Gromyko, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and USSR foreign minister, to the UN secretary general, the session discussed the question "Conclusion of a Treaty Banning the Use of Force in Outer Space and From Space in Relation to the Earth". The Soviet Union also put forward a corresponding draft treaty. Its core is the banning altogether of the use of force in outer space and from space in relation to the Earth employing for this space objects in circumterrestrial orbit, on celestial bodies or deployed in outer space in some other way as means of destruction. The parties to the treaty would undertake not to destroy, not to damage, not to disturb the normal functioning and not to alter the flight trajectory of space objects of other states. Precise and specific commitments to completely prohibit the testing and deployment in space of any space-based weapon are provided for. A radical and complete solution of the question of antisatellite weapons is proposed: a complete renunciation of the testing and creation of new antisatellite system and also the liquidation of existing such systems. In addition, the testing and use for military, including antisatellite, purposes of any manned spaceships, whose use should wholly serve the accomplishment of scientific-technical and economic tasks, would be banned.

The new Soviet initiative accommodates to a considerable extent the proposals and considerations of other states which have been expressed in the Disarmament

Committee, from the UN rostrum and at international forums. An important singularity of the draft is the combination therein of states' political-legal commitments to prevent the use of force in respect of one another in space and from space with the implementation of far-reaching measures of a material nature designed to avert the militarization of outer space.

The Soviet draft treaty also determines adequate procedures to ensure the reliability of its subscribers' fulfillment of their commitments: national technical monitoring facilities, consultation, cooperation by way of the use of the appropriate international procedures within the UN framework in accordance with its charter and use of the services of a consultative committee of the states subscribing to the treaty. Thus the proposed control measures are based on a combination of national and international inspection facilities. The Soviet draft treaty takes account of the considerations of other states which they have expressed during discussion of the question of preventing an arms race in space in the Disarmament Committee and the United Nations and at other international forums.

Supplementary to the said measures set forth in the Soviet draft treaty the Soviet Union, as Yu.V. Andropov declared in this connection, has undertaken, as a show of good will, not to be the first to put any types of antisatellite weapons in outer space. The unilateral moratorium on such launches is introduced for as long as other states, including the United States, refrain from putting antisatellite weapons of any kind in space.

In putting forward its new initiative the Soviet Union is guided by an endeavor to avert the militarization of outer space--this promising sphere being conquered by mankind. The seriousness and urgency of this task are perfectly obvious.

The present U.S. Administration is pursuing a militarist policy which is a serious threat to peace. "The essence of it," Yu.V. Andropov's statement of 28 September 1983 observes, "is attempting, in disregard of the interests of other states and peoples, to secure for the United States dominating positions in the world."

A key element of Washington's plans to build up its military power and achieve military superiority over the USSR and the Warsaw Pact together with implementation of a wide-ranging program of the production and deployment of new ground-, sea- and air-based strategic nuclear missiles is the development of combat space systems for striking at targets in outer space and on Earth. As follows from a report of the American Military Information Center, in the next 6 years the Reagan administration plans to spend on preparations for nuclear war \$450 billion, of which \$8 billion will go toward the development of ABM facilities, in space included; the creation of the first models of an antisatellite weapon will cost a further \$3.6 billion.

The spread of the arms race to space is openly proclaimed an important goal of the present Washington leadership. This was confirmed in President R. Reagan's speech on 4 July 1982, in which he plainly stated the administration's

preparations for fighting wars in space, emphasizing that "the United States will continue work on the creation and deployment of antisatellite weapons."* According to Defense Secretary C. Weinberger, "the United States will make extensive use of military space systems...and should develop space weapons"; he termed space a 'decisive zone,' where the United States must actively operate." The secretary acknowledged that the United States is displaying particular interest in outer space inasmuch as space could be "the most suitable place for destroying an enemy's missiles."**

Together with the call to proceed along the path of a strategic offensive arms buildup in a televised speech on 23 March 1983 R. Reagan again confirmed the policy of an arms race in space. He made public the decision to begin the development of the giant complex of an extensive system of antimissile weapons based in space and on Earth (it is a question, in particular, of the use of laser-beam and other latest space-based weapon systems***). It is planned to allocate for these purposes \$2.6 billion in the 1984 and \$3.1 billion in the 1985 fiscal years.

The plans for the militarization of space and the conversion thereof into a theater of military operations constituted the basis of the "Directive of the U.S. President on Space Policy," which was published in July 1982 and in accordance with which practically the entire activity of the United States in respect of the use of space in the next decade is subordinated to aggressive military purposes. The creation of military-space equipment is proclaimed an independent specific program. The American space program is oriented toward the creation and deployment in the next few years in near-Earth orbits of a number of new weapons systems, primarily of potential designed to put out of action "satellites of the enemy providing for the functioning of his strategic forces."

As far as such now—"traditional" functions of space systems as the command and control of troops, military communications, navigation, reconnaissance and the guidance of nuclear missiles and bombers are concerned, the directive provides for a considerable expansion of the use of satellites for these purposes in order to increase the efficiency of the use of American nuclear weapons. R. Reagan's directive, which is imbued with a militarist and hegemonist spirit, was essentially a public acknowledgment by the U.S. Government of its aspiration to turn space into a theater of military operations. A particular role was assigned therein to the multiple-use Shuttle space transport system.

This program is entirely subordinated to the interests of the U.S. military department. In the next few years the ~~Pentagon~~ has reserved for itself approximately one-third of all the flights of Shuttle-type craft. Of the approximately 40 launches planned up to 1985, 21 will be devoted to the implementation of military projects. In the course of the fourth flight even the spaceship Columbia accommodated a purely military cargo, and the astronauts were given military assignments. The freight included an observation

*THE WASHINGTON POST, 5 July 1982.

**Ibidem.

***See THE NEW YORK TIMES, 24 March 1983.

instrument operating in the infrared range and scanners operating in the ultraviolet range for detecting the missiles of an "enemy" and space apparatus and guiding laser weapons onto them.

The aspiration of Pentagon strategists to use Shuttle-series spacecraft to implement far-reaching plans for the military use of space is giving rise to the world public's justified concern. It is a question of the possibility of the stationing in orbit of a variety of weapons, primarily antisatellite, antimissile and air defense systems and their components. It is planned in the future to create on the basis of modular structures space strike systems intended for hitting ground aerial targets, surface ships and submarines.

Shuttle-type craft are also seen as a future antisatellite system. Ideas are being expressed according to which provision with a special mechanical arm will enable them to "inspect" space objects in orbit, shift them from orbit, destroy them or bring them down to Earth in the hold. The possibilities of the arm for intercepting space objects were tested in the course of the second flight of the Challenger spaceship of the Shuttle system (July 1983). It is planned to arm these craft with laser weapons also. American military specialists are also discussing the possibility of delivering to space and deploying there nuclear warheads with their help.

The United States is also developing other types of weapons intended for use in space. Closest to deployment is the antisatellite system created on the basis of the F-15 fighter, which, as a special directive of the U.S. defense secretary to the U.S. Air Force points out, is to be commissioned in 1987.

Particular attention is also being paid to the creation of guided energy weapons--laser and beam weapons. According to specialists' estimates, actual results of these developments (they will cost \$50-60 billion) may be obtained only by 1990.

Organizational structures for the direct implementation of the U.S. Administration's plans for the spread of the arms race to space are being created at an increasing pace in the U.S. armed forces. A space command representing a subdivision of the U.S. Air Force has been operating as of 1 September 1982. The new space command assumes operational control of observation and warning satellites, weather and other satellites and the antisatellite system which it is planned to deploy in 1987 and also such a weapon of the future as the laser. A most important function of the space command will also be leadership of the flights of carrier spacecraft of the Shuttle type for military purposes. It is planned to transform this command into a joint command for all four arms of the armed forces and endow it also with the function of realization of R. Reagan's proposal concerning the creation of a defense system to protect against enemy missiles based on missiles in space.

The most unbridled transatlantic militarist circles make no secret of the fact that the U.S. Administration's planned "breakthrough" into space pursues purely terrestrial goals. Thus, for example, T. Fister, leader of the department planning future NASA space programs in the John F. Kennedy Spaceflight Center, declared: "The state which controls space simultaneously controls the new era.... The military's interest in it lent impetus to the conquest

of space, and they do not intend to let slip the advantages which it promises them." The American journal U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT is even more candid on this score: "Whoever gains the ascendancy in space will acquire an overwhelming strategic advantage on Earth."

The present U.S. Administration's plans to develop and deploy an antimissile defense system using various types of new weapons--laser, beam and others--are a particular danger. Sober-minded scientists and military figures who are well-informed on questions of military strategy understand the absurdity of the American leadership's aspirations thanks to a "spurt" in the military-space sphere, particularly by way of the creation of a space-based antimissile defense system, of achieving superiority over the USSR, having restored the past invulnerability of American territory to a retaliatory strike on the part of Soviet defensive missiles. THE NEW YORK TIMES emphasized that there are no scientific tricks capable of reliably guaranteeing an American pre-ponderance in the long term. On the contrary, each new cycle in the arms race inevitably entails an unchecked growth of expenditure and increases the danger of war. While K. Tsipis, an American specialist in the sphere of space research and armaments and director of the Science and Technology for International Security program, wrote in THE LOS ANGELES TIMES: "The Reagan plan appears excellent, but it is in fact impracticable; we should not confuse Americans by forcing them to believe that such an antimissile defense system will ensure the protection of our cities...."

The illusory nature of the United States' attempts to achieve military superiority over the USSR thanks to the creation of modern combat space facilities does not make them less dangerous for everything living on Earth. The policy of the United States and its NATO allies aimed at an upward spiraling of the arms race and preparations for nuclear war with all its terrifying consequences for mankind have already led to a most serious complication of the entire international situation and the increased threat of nuclear catastrophe. After all, the preparations to deploy various types of weapon in space are being conducted in parallel with the buildup of U.S. nuclear forces with the aim of first use of nuclear weapons. We cannot fail to see a direct connection here between Washington's military-space ambitions and the aggressive military-political concepts and doctrines being officially advanced there, which proceed from the permissibility of nuclear war and the possibility of winning such a war.

Under these conditions the placing in orbit of combat space systems, which would be an additional component of the nuclear first-strike potential being created in the United States, would have an extremely dangerous destabilizing impact on the entire strategic situation. Strategic stability, given states' possession of nuclear weapons, is based on no side being able to count on the first use of such weapons in the hope of gaining the upper hand in a nuclear war.

Obviously, strategic stability depends on a whole number of factors. A change in just one or several of them could entail it being disturbed. The anti-missile systems which are part of the armament of the USSR and the United States are undoubtedly part of the general equation determining the parity of the strategic forces of the USSR and the United States. For this reason

the limitations on ABM systems enshrined in the 1972 Soviet-American ABM Treaty and the 1974 Protocol thereto are an important component contributing to the preservation of strategic stability. The creation and deployment of space-based antimissile defense systems using new technical facilities would undoubtedly be a destabilizing factor and would inevitably bring about a buildup of strategic missiles on the other side.

In the course of discussion of the problem of limiting strategic arms the USSR and the United States once acknowledged that there is an inseparable interconnection between strategic offensive and defensive arms. It was not fortuitous that the 1972 Soviet-American ABM Treaty and the first agreement limiting strategic offensive arms were concluded simultaneously. The sides thereby agreed in the said documents that only mutual restraint in the antimissile defense sphere would make it possible to limit and subsequently turn back the strategic arms race as a whole. Now the United States is manifestly heading for the development of an extensive space antimissile defense system covering the whole country. It is obvious that the realization of such a program would actually run counter to the ABM Treaty. The creation and deployment of antimissile weapons, in the opinion of foreign specialists, could have an extremely negative impact on the strategic balance.

In connection with the U.S. Administration's decision to perform R&D in the sphere of the creation of an extensive antimissile defense space system the Soviet Union proposed to the United States a meeting of Soviet and American scientists and specialists in this matter and the discussion of possible consequences of the creation of such an antimissile defense system. That, owing to the American side's refusal, such a meeting of scientists of the two countries has yet to be held indicates merely that Washington officials do not aspire to seek ways of averting an arms race in this direction also.

The United States' deployment in space of combat missiles capable of putting satellite systems out of action would in fact mean an addition to the nuclear strategic potential of the American side, that is, would lead to the undermining of strategic stability. In addition, the creation of antisatellite systems capable of putting the other side's satellites out of action would undoubtedly increase the danger of a sudden nuclear attack.

The saturation of space with strike systems would by no means contribute to a strengthening of trust between states. On the contrary, it would only increase suspicion in respect to the intentions of the other side and fears concerning the possibility of a disarming first strike. There would also be a considerable increase in the likelihood of the sides' wrong interpretation of each other's actions and the creation of situations fraught with the danger of outbreak of a nuclear conflict.

The appearance of space types of weapons would also seriously complicate the monitoring of them and, consequently, their concerted limitation. This is connected with the specifics of military-space missiles. For example, as American specialists claim, in connection with the creation of the F-15-based American ASAT antisatellite system any available F-15 fighter may be converted into a highly efficient antisatellite weapon in only 6 hours--sufficient merely to attach the appropriate missile to the fuselage. The more so in that, as in the case of other types of arms, it is easier to come to an agreement on banning the creation of new weapons systems than on limiting and reducing them when they have been deployed in combat position.

"We are approaching the point of no return," P. Tsongas, Democratic senator from Massachusetts, said. "If we continue testing antisatellite weapons, we may lose forever the opportunity which now exists for reaching agreement on a halt to the arms race in space."* The imposition of rivalry in space arms, to which U.S. imperialist circles are leading matters, is not only fraught with dangerous consequences for the cause of peace. From the very outset this policy switches the arms race to a plane of the unprecedented expenditure of the material and intellectual resources which states so urgently need for the accomplishment of a multitude of economic and social tasks. Unlimited competition in the sphere of antisatellite weapons will be "intolerably expensive for both sides," the SIPRI Yearbook points out, "since the creation of attack missiles will inexorably entail the creation of defense missiles."**

In the race for the illusion of military superiority the United States, as repeatedly in the past, is the instigator of the creation of new types of arms—space varieties thereof on this occasion. The realization of Washington's ambitious military-space programs and the saturation of space with supernew types of weapons would initiate a new round of the arms race—now in the space field. Put into orbit, this race would acquire new, truly cosmic acceleration, and the military threat connected with it even greater proportions. As a result truly astronomical resources would be diverted from the people's terrestrial needs.

To the benefit of Washington's policy aimed at the militarization of space certain bourgeois scientists are embarking on the unseemly task of substantiating the "inevitability" of the spread of the arms race to space and developing the concepts and doctrines of waging an "aerospace war". Typical in this respect is the book of the American scientist G. Stine, "Confrontation in Space". The danger and harmfulness of the "star wars" concepts popularized by the author is primarily that they are designed to impart a theoretical basis, as it were, to the entirely specific plans being put forward by the U.S. Administration for the creation of and saturation of space with the latest types of antisatellite weapons and other strike space systems. Thus the author advocates the creation of antimissile defense systems based on the use of laser weapons deployed on "orbital combat stations". He confuses the readers here, to put it mildly, claiming that the creation of such antimissile defense systems is capable of averting "the danger of mass thermonuclear devastation on Earth".*** This is a kind of scientific-legal justification of the program for the development of a giant complex of antimissile weapons allegedly of a defensive purpose intended for deployment on Earth and in space and allegedly capable of ensuring the United States' security in the event of a global nuclear conflict which was announced by President Reagan in March 1983.

*THE NEW YORK TIMES, 23 August 1983.

**"Outer Space--A New Dimension of the Arms Race," SIPRI, London, 1981.

***G. H. Stine, "Confrontation in Space," New Jersey, 1981, p 182.

In reality, it would be a dangerous delusion to believe that if combat weapons appear in outer space, space alone would be their proving ground and "battlefield" in a science fiction spirit, as perceived by certain people in the West. It is a question not of preparations for fantastic "star wars". The "terrestrial" orientation of American military preparations in space creates a threat to the vital interests of all states without exception. After all, it is no secret that none of them will be left on the sidelines if a nuclear war is unleashed, even if it begins with the use of weapons from space.

Given any version of nuclear conflict, however its instigators might aspire to make such a confrontation "limited" and "local," it would develop into a general nuclear war, which would inevitably be a catastrophe for all mankind. As a result the existence of human civilization and even life on Earth itself would be put in jeopardy. As R. Garvin, a creator of the hydrogen bomb, points out in THE NEW YORK TIMES, "war in space is not an alternative to war on Earth but merely a prelude to it."

The Soviet Union aspires to prevent such a development of events. From the first days of the space age the USSR has consistently proceeded from the fact that space and peace are indivisible and that outer space should serve man's progress and be used for creative and not destructive purposes. Soviet efforts in this direction, which are supported by other peace-loving states, have made it possible to achieve certain results in limiting the military use of space. Among these, most important landmarks are: the Treaty Governing the Principles of States' Activity in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, Including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies (1967); the Treaty Banning Tests of Nuclear Weapons in the Atmosphere, Outer Space and Under Water (1963); and the Convention Banning the Military or Any Other Hostile Use of Means of Influencing the Environment (1977). These international agreements have limited in a number of directions the military use of outer space.

The agreements in force establish a complete ban on all types of military use of the Moon and other celestial bodies, the deployment of nuclear and other types of weapon of mass destruction in Earth orbit and also test explosions of nuclear weapons in space. Also outlawed was the use of means of influencing the environment of space and, from space, the Earth's environment for military and other hostile purposes.

The current provisions, which are aimed at limiting both quantitatively and qualitatively the military use of space, have also been enshrined in such bilateral Soviet-American agreements as the 1972 ABM Treaty and the 1974 Supplementary Protocol thereto; the 1972 Interim Agreement on Certain Measures in the Sphere of Limiting Strategic Offensive Arms (SALT I); and the SALT II Treaty, which was signed in Vienna on 18 June 1979 and which did not come into force through the fault of the American side. Considerably more, of course, could have been done in the sphere of limiting the use of space for military purposes if Washington had not unilaterally broken off the Soviet-American negotiations on antisatellite systems which had been started in 1978. As is known, the USSR has repeatedly proposed a resumption of the negotiations, but the United States is still refusing.

As already mentioned, the agreements in force currently still leave open the possibility of the deployment in space of types of weapons which do not come under the definition of weapons of mass destruction. For this reason the Soviet Union proposed the conclusion of a treaty banning the deployment in outer space of weapons of any kind. The draft of such a treaty, which was submitted to the United Nations in August 1981, provides for a commitment not to put into orbit objects with weapons of any kind, not to install such weapons on celestial bodies and not to deploy them in outer space in any other way.*

The USSR's initiative on the conclusion of a treaty banning the deployment in outer space of weapons of any kind evoked great interests and was widely supported in the United Nations. As a result of the discussion of the Soviet proposal by the General Assembly 36th and 37th sessions a resolution in support of the Soviet initiative was passed by an overwhelming majority. The document approved by the 37th Session proposed that the Disarmament Committee in Geneva "examine on a priority basis the question of averting an arms race in outer space" and "create a special work group on this question at the start of its 1983 session in order to begin negotiations on the conclusion of an agreement or agreements...."** It is indicative that only the United States voted against this resolution. Washington's obstructionist position was not even supported by its NATO allies.

The U.S. delegation to the Disarmament Committee frustrated the start of negotiations on this question both in 1982 and 1983. The American representatives objected to the creation of a space work group and advocated merely a general discussion in the committee for "clarifying the positions of all other delegations". The American delegation scornfully denied the right of nonspace countries to participate in the negotiations on problems of demilitarizing space, referring to their "technical complexity" and arrogantly declaring that the United States did not wish "to be taught anything" in this sphere.

Washington's refusal to consent to the creation of a special work group for the elaboration of a treaty banning the deployment in space of weapons of any kind was in sharp contrast to the prevailing mood in the Disarmament Committee. The majority of its members supported the specific formulation of a draft international agreement on averting an arms race in outer space. Together with the delegations of the socialist countries the representatives of India, Mexico, Brazil, Pakistan, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, Algeria, Ethiopia, Zaire and others spoke in favor of practical measures to avert an arms race in space and the setting up of a special work group to this end.

The Americans' blocking of the negotiations is causing dissatisfaction not only on the part of the nonaligned countries but also a number of the United States' NATO allies. The representatives of such states as Holland, Canada,

* See UN Doc. A/36/192, 11 August 1981.

** UN Doc. A/37/83, 9 December 1982, p 4.

Japan and France are advocating negotiations on problems of preventing an arms race in outer space. They supported the proposals for the creation of a special work group on this question.

But time does not wait. In the opinion of authoritative specialists, a time threshold is imminent in respect of the possibility of preventing the spread of the arms race to space. The development of technology has reached such an extent that this process will soon be very difficult to turn back. For this reason the USSR has proposed movement toward a radical and all-embracing solution of the problem of preventing the militarization of space--banning the use of force in space and from space altogether.

The new Soviet initiative has had broad repercussions throughout the world, the West included. It is viewed as a further striking manifestation of the Soviet Union's concern for the consolidation of peace and the prevention of nuclear catastrophe. Many prominent politicians and public figures and well-known scientists and specialists valued highly the USSR's specific and realistic proposals, which were embodied in the draft Treaty Banning the Use of Force in Outer Space and From Space in Respect of the Earth and set forth in Yu.V. Andropov's conversation with U.S. senators on 18 August 1983. (I. Turs-son), secretary of state in Sweden's Foreign Ministry, declared that the USSR's new proposals will enjoy a positive response not only among the peace-loving community but also in the governments of many countries. (P. Vyuryubakh), parliamentary secretary of state at the FRG Defense Ministry, also commented positively on the Soviet proposal. K. Gottfried, the eminent American specialist in nuclear physics, described in an interview with the American newspaper CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR the commitment assumed by the Soviet Union not to be the first to put any antisatellite weapons in space as a concrete step forward on the way to curbing the arms race.

G. Larocque, director of the influential organization the American Military Information Center, stated in a report published in the United States that the new Soviet initiative affords a unique opportunity in the sphere of establishing arms control and called for a moratorium on antisatellite weapons. The PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER wrote that the Soviet proposal attracts mankind's attention to an obvious truth: space can and should be a subject of arms control negotiations.

Washington officials responded to the Soviet initiative differently. Their first reaction was by no means constructive. A U.S. State Department statement set forth a position testifying that the goal of U.S. policy is the acceleration of American programs for the development of weapons for waging war in space or from space. To justify this position the State Department statement was larded with a multitude of reservations and doubts as to the possibility of implementation of the Soviet Union's new peace-loving step. It spoke of the "inadequacy of the means for verifying" observance of the proposed treaty, simultaneously instilling the thought concerning "one-sided advantages" for the Soviet Union and an "intolerable risk" for the United States in the event of the conclusion of the proposed treaty. In a word, the standard set of "arguments" was advanced which Washington activates each time it aspires to justify its refusal to negotiate the conclusion

of agreements of its endeavor to frustrate them. As far as the "intolerable risk" connected, in the State Department's opinion, with the conclusion of the treaty proposed by the Soviet Union is concerned, such a risk both for the United States and for other countries will indeed arise precisely in the event of a start on the unlimited buildup of antisatellite systems.

While claiming that a moratorium on the launch of antisatellite weapons would afford the Soviet Union one-sided advantages the American foreign policy department remains silent about the fact that it was precisely the United States which displayed the "initiative" of the creation of antisatellite arms 20 years ago. At that time the United States began with the Saint maneuverable space interceptor. Two ground-based antisatellite systems were created in the 1960's: in 1963 on Kwajalein Island based on the Nike-Zeus antimissile missiles and in 1964 on Johnston Island using (TOR) missiles. These missiles with nuclear warheads were intended for the destruction of Soviet satellites. They simulated strikes against the remnants of American space objects. The above-mentioned ASAT system is now ready for testing. Furthermore, it is planned to use Shuttle-type spacecraft for antisatellite purposes.

In the course of the UN General Assembly 38th Session the Soviet proposal on the conclusion of the Treaty on the Nonuse of Force in Outer Space and From Space in Respect of the Earth was supported by the majority of states. Its presentation appreciably stimulated discussion within the United Nations of the problem of averting an arms race in outer space. Together with the socialist states the delegations of a whole number of countries of various parts of the world (India, Ethiopia, the Congo, Indonesia, Peru, Nigeria and others) opposed the militarization of space. It was emphasized that the Soviet initiatives point the way along which it is necessary to proceed to halt the militarization of space and leave it a free zone of cooperation and conquest for peaceful purposes. The Soviet Union proposes that this difficult, but perfectly feasible task be tackled without further delay. The delegates of certain NATO countries also, particularly the FRG, Italy, the Netherlands, Denmark, Norway and Canada, spoke in support of the formulation of agreements on averting an arms race in space and banning antisatellite weapons. During discussion in the Special Political Committee of a report of the UN Committee on the Use of Outer Space for Peaceful Purposes the representatives of many countries (Mexico, Brazil, Uruguay, Nigeria, Madagascar, Sri Lanka) expressed extreme concern at the growing threat of the militarization of space and its possible consequences for the development of states' cooperation in the peaceful exploration and peaceful conquest of outer space.

"I share the general anxiety over the possible use of outer space for military purposes and welcome the recently submitted proposal concerning a solution of important aspects of this problem. I call with all urgency for the speediest start on all-embracing negotiations on the establishment of peaceful conditions for outer space,"* the report of the UN secretary general on the activity of this organization presented to the UN General Assembly 38th Session says.

*UN Doc. A/38/1.

As far as the position of the United States is concerned, it was distinguished neither by constructiveness nor positiveness. Its representative in the First Committee argued quite nebulously about the need to study ways "to reduce the risk of conflict in space." Simultaneously with these deliberations the American delegation was making efforts to block the Assembly's adoption of any decisions aimed at ensuring the use of space only for peaceful purposes.

Despite this, the resolutions passed by the two main committees of the Assembly session clearly and unequivocally expressed the mood of the vast majority of UN members. The resolution approved by the First Committee, which was coauthored by socialist and nonaligned countries, contains an appeal to all states, primarily those with major potential in the space sphere, to actively promote the peaceful use of space and adopt immediate measures to avert an arms race in outer space. It was proposed that the Disarmament Committee stimulate examination of questions of averting an arms race in space and create a special work group for this purpose. The United States was totally isolated in voting against this resolution, which was approved by 121 states. The session's Special Political Committee passed a resolution by an overwhelming majority of states in which the UN Committee on the Use of Outer Space for Peaceful Purposes is entrusted with examining as a priority questions pertaining to averting the militarization of outer space. And on this occasion also only the United States and a narrow group of its allies voted against the resolution. Thus the United States again counterposed itself to the world community, which is emphatically in favor of the speediest solution of the problem of averting the militarization of space.

The Soviet Union expressed at the session its readiness to examine in a constructive spirit all proposals aimed at averting an arms race in outer space. It precisely and clearly proposed an option in favor of mankind--conclusion of the Treaty Banning the Use of Force in Outer Space and From Space in Relation to the Earth. The USSR's readiness to also conduct separate negotiations with the United States on antisatellite systems was confirmed.

Implementation of the set of measures put forward by the Soviet Union would be a real contribution to ensuring the use of space for peaceful purposes. The conversion of space into a source of military danger and an arena of conflict and confrontation cannot be allowed. It must remain free of all weapons. Such is the demand of the peoples. Such is the task of the times, on the accomplishment of which peace and the security of states and peoples of the whole world will depend to a considerable extent. The Soviet good example points the way by which it is possible to halt the militarization of space and leave it a zone of practical cooperation and conquest for peaceful purposes.

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RIVALRY OF UNITED STATES, EUROPE, JAPAN LINKED TO HIGHER TENSION

Moscow MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA in Russian No 1, Jan 84
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[Article by Yu. Stolyarov and Ye. Khesin: "The Three Power Centers in the Economy of Present-Day Capitalism"]

[Excerpts] Under the conditions of the growth of the general instability of the capitalist system throughout the 1970's and the first half of the 1980's considerable changes occurred or were outlined in the correlation of forces of the three centers of imperialism--the United States, West Europe (primarily the Common Market) and Japan. There is an incessant struggle among them in all areas of imperialist rivalry. "Trade" wars do not abate, and the struggle in the sphere of the export of capital, for sources of raw material and energy and in the currency-finance sphere is intensifying. The scientific-technical revolution is summoning forth new, even more destructive forms of competition between the monopolies of three centers. The entire capitalist world has become its arena. A new stage of the struggle for the economic division of spheres of influence has begun in the atmosphere of sharp deterioration in the economic and sociopolitical position of capitalism. Particular aggressiveness is being displayed by the United States. The exacerbation of the contradictions among the three centers has also seized the military-political sphere. Imperialism, American primarily, is intensifying the arms race, spurring international tension, flagrantly interfering in the internal affairs of other states and increasing the confrontation with the socialist world. The international atmosphere has been strained to a dangerous extent. Under these conditions the ruling circles of the three centers of imperialism are making joint efforts in an attempt to overcome the situation. Since the latter half of the 1970's a trend toward a compact of the imperialist states in the international arena and the coordination of action to remove the serious contradictions and difficulties has been discerned.

Shifts in the Correlation of Forces

The period of the 1950's and the first half of the 1960's was characterized by the United States' economic and military-strategic superiority over West Europe and Japan. The picture of the capitalist world became more complex in the latter half of the 1960's. The positions of the West European and Japanese centers strengthened, and the developing states began to perform a

more pronounced role. The dependence on the United States which had been manifested in various forms began increasingly strongly to be supplemented by contradictions and conflict situations between the centers of imperialism, a search for compromises and coordination and, as a whole, the endeavor of the West European and Japanese centers to perform a more independent role in the world.

The major changes in the world capitalist economy are the basis of the said processes. Throughout the 1960's-start of the 1970's West Europe and Japan appreciably outpaced the United States in rate of economic growth; as a result West Europe surpassed the United States in terms of size of gross domestic product (GDP), and Japan sharply reduced its lag. Simultaneously there was a pronounced reduction in and, in certain cases, the elimination of the "technology gap" in a number of key sectors between the American and the two other centers. The United States is no longer the undisputed technology leader in such sectors as auto assembly, home electronics, scientific research equipment and others. The West European and Japanese centers have also caught up with the United States in national economy efficiency indicators.

By the end of the 1970's the United States had almost succeeded in restoring its positions in world capitalist production which it had occupied at the start of the past decade. The 1980-1982 crisis led to a sharp reduction in industrial production in the United States and again did more damage to this country's economy than that of West Europe and Japan. However, the United States is emerging from this crisis more quickly than West Europe. A recovery in the American economy began in spring 1983. As far as the West European countries (primarily the EEC) are concerned, although the industrial production index in them is showing a growth tendency, production is marking time around the crisis minimum as a whole. As a result the United States' share of the capitalist countries' industrial production and foreign trade has either stabilized or increased somewhat, the indicators of the Japanese center have increased, but those of West Europe, the Common Market included, have declined.

As a whole Japan's ruling circles advanced and are implementing the global strategy of "ensuring economic security" to strengthen world economic positions. Within its framework it is planned to sharply increase spending on economic and scientific-technical cooperation with the developing states in order to guarantee primarily sources of raw materials and sales markets. It is planned to rapidly increase spending on R&D and on this basis occupy a new, more favorable place in the international division of labor less subject to the negative impact of economic, raw material and other crises. Finally, on the pretext of protecting the raw material shipment routes the intensive militarization of the economy is under way in Japan. In the course of the latest 5-year plan (the 1983-1987 fiscal years) of the development of the "self-defense forces" it is proposed spending roughly \$80 billion for their reequipment with the latest weapons. Even now Japanese industry has stockpiled high-quality technology and equipment for organization of large-series military production. Japan thus, gradually reducing the lag behind the two other centers in the sphere of military preparations, sees this as a way of

strengthening its positions in the world. The country is in fact becoming an informal member of NATO. Nonetheless, throughout the 1970's-start of the 1980's the Japanese center remained dependent on the actions of other states, primarily the United States. This vulnerability was manifested most dramatically at the end of 1973, when the Arab oil-producing countries, imposing an embargo on oil supplies to Japan, forced it to cardinally revise its Near East policy and occupy a pro-Arab position. It should be considered that, apart from oil, there are many other very sensitive points from the viewpoint of supplies, and this considerably limits the possibility of its independent foreign policy. It is sufficient to recall the consequences of the United States' imposition of the embargo on soybean supplies to Japan in 1973.

At the same time the principal conclusion concerning its pronounced strengthening and conversion from a regional into a world economic power is not in doubt. At the same time, however, the widespread opinion that this country, while an "economic giant," remains a "political dwarf" no longer corresponds to reality. Japan is actively pursuing a policy of reviving militarism and inclusion in the plans of the United States' military preparations in the Pacific and NATO's militarist course. This was graphically shown by R. Reagan's recent visit to Japan.

The military-economic sphere has become the sole sphere where integration processes are proceeding quite intensively. The NATO Eurogroup and the European Programming Group, which were created in 1969 and 1976 respectively, represent the institutional factor which contributed to joint arms production in West Europe.

In the atmosphere of the protracted and profound crises of 1974-1975 and 1980-1982 a trend was manifested increasingly perceptibly toward protectionism within the EEC (so-called "economic nationalism") and concern primarily for the interests of national monopoly capital. Certain EEC countries, primarily Denmark, Italy and France, began from time to time to impose customs duties on reciprocal trade in industrial commodities. The price mechanism of agrarian integration essentially failed. The participants in the community are increasingly less disposed to compromise. The enlargement of the EEC thanks to the less-developed South European countries is increasing the trend toward stratification of the Common Market and the emergence of a "two-speed Europe". In this atmosphere advancement along the path of further coordination of the national economic policies of the members is encountering insurmountable obstacles.

The initiative is as yet with the American and Japanese monopolies. West European producers of science-intensive products are increasingly frequently concluding cooperation agreements with transatlantic firms offering progressive technology in the sphere of electronics, bioengineering and so forth. There is a real threat of West Europe's increased technological dependence on the two other centers by the end of the century.

The capacity of the EEC to pursue a uniform trade policy in relations with the United States, Japan and the developing countries is an important factor strengthening the positions of the West European center in the interimperialist

rivalry and also in North-South relations and compelling the competitors to regard the EEC as a real and independent force. The European Communities Commission has gained the right to negotiate with third countries on a reduction in customs tariffs and the conclusion of trade and other economic agreements. The European Communities Commission and the Council of Ministers of the Common Market have conducted negotiations with CEMA: the Common Market had a "single vote" at the Tokyo round of GATT negotiations; the EEC was an equal participant in the negotiations at the conferences on international economic cooperation (the "North-South dialogue").

Despite internal conflicts and contradictions, in the past decade the West European power center has become a powerful factor of the economy and policy of present-day capitalism. Nonetheless, the general conclusion is that no essential evolution of the West European power nucleus--the EEC--was observed in the 1970's-start of the 1980's in the direction of a federal formation in the direction of a "United States of Europe". The region's relative significance in the industrial production and foreign trade of the capitalist world has declined somewhat.

The Offensive of the American Center

What is new in the alignment of forces among the three centers of imperialism is the fact that the United States has occupied second place behind Japan, but has outpaced West Europe in growth rate as of the latter half of the 1970's. The certain strengthening of American positions in the world capitalist economy can hardly explain the nature of the U.S. Administration's economic policy, as bourgeois-conservative ideologists in the West often attempt to represent it. Implementation of the program advanced in the 1970's of the "reindustrialization," that is, recovery, of the American economy has as yet to produce tangible results. The economic recovery which has begun in the United States will, in the opinion of many specialists, be short-lived. The change in the production growth rate in the "power triangle" in favor of American capital has been caused not by the successes of Reaganomics but mainly by the considerable deterioration of the position in the two other centers; the profound disorders in the economy of the West European countries which have already been mentioned and the reduction in Japan's economic growth rate.

At the same time, in evaluating shifts which are occurring in the sphere of the mutual relations of the three centers and the possible prospects something else must be borne in mind also. Whereas under conditions which were relatively favorable for capitalism--right up to the mid-1970's--the United States lagged behind its competitors in economic growth rate, in an atmosphere of sharply increased difficulties reserves of the American economy have been revealed--its advantages over the other centers of imperialism.

Primarily the United States continues to maintain superiority over its principal competitors in a number of most important areas of scientific-technical progress. Particular attention is being paid to the production of microprocessors, robots and bioengineering. Applied research is developing

intensively. The United States occupies the leading position in the capitalist world in the sphere of the creation of all classes of computers and specialized programs for them, laser technology, the conquest of space and exploitation of the wealth of the oceans. The United States spends more on R&D than West Europe and Japan together. The strongest scientific-technical potential in the capitalist world is the United States' principal trump card in the rivalry with the other centers.

The next area in which the advantages of the United States have been clearly revealed is the overseas activity of the American transnational corporations (TNC), which have been able under the crisis conditions to derive the maximum benefits from the international nature of their operations. For a fuller analysis of this phenomenon it is necessary to consider V. I. Lenin's instruction concerning the economic division of the world by the monopolies and his characterization of state-exclusive finance capital.* The real correlation of forces among them does not correspond to the size of the gross product of the countries which they represent. The gross product indicator does not take account of the fact that the production forces are increasingly outgrowing "the limited framework of national-state divisions."** For this reason the location of investments and capital exports and imports are important when determining the economic positions of the power centers. Consideration of these factors makes adjustments to the notion of the actual positions of the centers in the world capitalist economy, the correlation of forces among the monopolies of these centers and the dimensions of their economic periphery abroad. From this viewpoint Washington is still the indisputed leader.

A number of circumstances should be considered in evaluating the correlation of forces in the sphere of overseas investments between the United States and West Europe. One-third of the West European countries' investments is accommodated within the region. Given a roughly equal sum total of foreign capital investments of the United States and the West European countries, this means that the value of the product of the overseas affiliates of the American TNC is at least 30 percent greater than that produced by the West European monopolies outside of the region. In other words, these data indicate that the United States has a considerably broader economic periphery abroad than West Europe.

It has to be added to this that American direct investments in West Europe are far in excess of the latter's investments in the United States. In 1981 they amounted to \$101.3 and \$57.7 billion; correspondingly, the value of the conditional net product of the affiliates of the American TNC in West Europe was 3.9 percent of the GDP of the West European power center, while the analogous indicator of the West European international monopolies in the United States was 2.3 percent.***

* See V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 27, p 95.

** Ibid., vol 26, p 162.

***Estimates of V. Pripisnov, research assistant at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of World Economy and International Relations.

Furthermore, whereas West European transatlantic investments are to a considerable extent in the sphere of trade and finance, American investments are concentrated predominantly in the progressive, science-intensive sectors of West European industry, which makes the latter dependent on American capital and vulnerable in the face of the United States' economic policy.

An increased role in the mutual relations of the three power centers has been performed since the end of the 1970's by a set of problems connected with the currency-finance system of capitalism, which is experiencing virtually the most difficult period since the war. The impact of currency factors on the economic situation and the volume and direction of foreign trade flows and the migration of capital has increased considerably. The currency exchange rates and interest rates under the conditions of the Jamaica currency system have become a powerful means of competitive struggle of the three centers of imperialism.

The most effective use is being made of this weapon by the United States. The rise in the Federal Reserve's interest rates has led to a strengthening of the positions of the dollar. The restoration of business activity in West Europe has been delayed considerably, and the position of a number of currencies, particularly the French franc, has deteriorated sharply. The West European states' countermeasures in respect of the "dollar empire," particularly the creation of the Eurocurrency system, have not as yet been successful. With even greater caution Japan has begun to pursue a policy of "internationalizing" the yen, that is, converting it into a currency of broad international application, oriented, as before, predominantly toward the dollar and support thereof. The events of the start of the 1980's have thus shown that the dollar is not only maintaining but in certain respects increasing its world positions. Certain oil-producing developing countries, which have impressive dollar holdings and are interested in maintaining their value, have also become the United States' natural ally in this question. Thus the Jamaica currency system not only has not eliminated the dollar's dominant position in world payments but has maintained it, which is determined to a considerable extent by the stimulation of the American overseas banks, which in the 1970's created the most powerful network of banking establishments in the capitalist world.

The next area in which the United States has managed not only to maintain but in certain respects strengthen its positions is the military sphere.

As in the other areas also, the picture here is not at first sight straightforward. Without going into a detailed analysis of the problem, we would note that whereas in 1970 the military spending of the European NATO countries constituted 32.2 percent of U.S. spending, in 1982 it was more than 70 percent (\$127.7 billion, excluding Greece and Norway). Japan's expenditure increased from 2.1 to 7 percent of the American level. The military-industrial complexes of the leading West European countries and also Japan have scored pronounced successes in the development of new models of arms and an efficient technology of the production of certain types of weapons. Britain and France have succeeded in creating nuclear potential, with which any participant in a possible global conflict has to reckon. The growth of military spending and potential has led to the relatively greater independence of the West European and, somewhat less, Japanese centers in the arms sphere.

At the same time it has to be considered that the increase in the military preparations of America's allies has occurred to a considerable extent under direct U.S. pressure. The latter is hereby endeavoring not only to alleviate its own militarist burden but also undermine the competitive positions of West Europe and Japan in the trade-economic sphere, having loaded heavy military spending on them. The increase in this spending is leading directly or indirectly to the growth of purchases of American arms and strengthening the trend toward weapons unification and standardization in the leading capitalist countries with a predominant orientation toward the American level. Simultaneously the United States, having adopted new, unprecedented programs in the sphere of conventional (naval particularly) arms, nuclear weapons and their delivery systems and also fundamentally new types of weapons, is facing a qualitatively new twist of the arms race spiral, leaving West Europe and Japan far behind.

A strengthening of the United States' global positions may also be traced along the lines of the relations of the three power centers with the Soviet Union and the socialist world. Having adopted a policy of aggravating the military-political confrontation with the socialist states, the U.S. Administration was able, as a whole, to win from its allies economic support for its militarist foreign policy line. Under U.S. pressure the EEC countries and Japan adopted a number of restrictive measures concerning the export of technology and a number of commodities and the terms of granting credit for foreign trade with the socialist countries. However, proceeding from their own interests, the EEC and Japan in practice declined incorporation in large-scale actions aimed at freezing and reducing economic cooperation with the socialist states. The complication of this connection of relations between the power centers contributed to the failure of the American "sanctions" against the USSR. At the same time the economic dependence of West Europe and Japan on the United States and also American military superiority in the capitalist world forced the two other power centers to consent to compromise. The tenser the international atmosphere here, the greater the concessions the United States can win from its "feuding colleagues".

The R. Reagan administration is endeavoring to take advantage of this circumstance. It has switched to a tough economic, political, ideological and military offensive along the entire front of mutual relations with other states. The United States' increased aggressiveness in the international economic arena reflects not only a temporary stabilization and strengthening of American positions even. It also represents a reaction to the long-term changes in world economics and politics, which are unfavorable to this country and which are for the most part irreversible. The U.S. Administration is for this reason attempting to prevent the development of these trends by increasing international confrontation, believing that a favorable moment has arrived for the restoration of the United States' global positions, which weakened in preceding years.

This weakening is occurring primarily in the sphere of the economy. The volume of the GDP of the West European center throughout the 1970's-start of the 1980's still exceeded the American level, while Japan continued to reduce the lag. The long-term trend of the rapprochement of the levels of

labor productivity in the three centers, capital yield, material and energy consumption and other indicators characterizing social production efficiency would seem highly material, particularly for determining development prospects.

A weak spot in the economy of the American center is the lowest norm of capital accumulation of the developed capitalist states, which has constricted in this connection the possibilities of new investments for replacing the machinery and equipment pool. The West European center has surpassed and the Japanese center almost drawn level with the American center in terms of the level of capital investments in the national economy. The existence of a vast and to a large extent obsolescent production apparatus and its considerable inertial resistance to modernization and replacement considerably reduces the possibilities of U.S. growth.

Such an advantage of the American center as the high level of its economic invulnerability and relatively low dependence on foreign markets and raw material sources has practically come to nothing. There has primarily been a sharp increase in the dependence on imported supplies of oil and nonferrous and rare-earth metals of strategic significance. The proportion of GDP sold on foreign markets (it has reached 8-10 percent) is growing. The American economy has actually found itself dependent on the general state of the world capitalist economy and the economy and economic policy of other capitalist and also developing countries. However, it should not be forgotten that the possibilities of U.S. influence on other countries along economic relations channels have increased also. It is not fortuitous that American ruling circles have imparted an avowedly aggressive nature to their trade legislation, inserting therein elements of discrimination and pressure on the trading partners, applying extensively in their foreign economic practice a variety of sanctions and measures of punishing the "disobedient".

The weakening of the United States' positions affected the international-policy sphere also. A particularly serious blow was struck at the United States by the defeat in Indochina. The United States was unable to check the national liberation movement in a number of Asian, African and Latin American developing countries, where, as a whole, its positions were undermined. Finally, the United States lost military-strategic superiority over the socialist world.

As a whole, however, the prolonged weakening of the global positions of the American center have not led to the United States losing the role of the main economic power of capitalism and leader of its military-political blocs. Furthermore, as a result of the offensive against the rivals which has been developed since the end of the 1970's the United States has managed to achieve certain, for the most part temporary, successes and squeeze its competitors, primarily the West Europeans, in certain areas of interimperialist rivalry. For this reason it has acquired new features under current conditions.

Singularities of the Contradictions Among the Centers

The said shifts in the correlation of forces testifying to the increased unevenness of the development of capitalism are having an appreciable impact on the entire complex of relations among the three centers. The changes in this sphere also reflect the increase in the general instability of the development of capitalism since the mid-1970's. A marked influence on the nature of the interimperialist contradictions is being exerted by the exacerbation of the international situation.

A fundamental singularity of the interimperialist struggle under current conditions is the continued exacerbation of the contradictions among capitalist states; it is being characterized increasingly by a growth of antagonisms and an increase in upheavals and conflicts. On the eve and at the outset of the 1980's the world was witness to bitter battles on all fronts of the imperialist rivalry. It is sufficient to mention the "trade" wars, ("wine," "chicken," "cheese," "grain," "steel") and the clashes in the currency-finance sphere: the "interest rates war," "exchange rates war" and so forth.

At the same time attempts to pursue concerted actions have occupied an increasingly large place in relations among the three centers since the middle of the last decade. What is new is that the leading circles of the United States, West Europe and Japan are no longer content with an endeavor to blunt the sharpness of the contradictions in individual sectors of the competitive struggle. Growing significance is attached to the coordination of action on a broad range of economic, political and military problems. An important new feature in the activity of the three centers is the emergence of highly developed institutional forms within whose framework the exchange of opinions and coordination of the positions of the capitalist states on urgent questions of the present day are taking place. To a certain extent it is possible even to speak of the independent (albeit limited) role of institutional forms for stimulating capitalist coordination. The level of the participants in the talks has risen. Together with bilateral meetings multilateral meetings and conferences within the framework of international organizations have become a part of the practice of economic intercourse.

The policy of coordination which has been manifested distinctly recently by no means signifies a lessening of the rivalry among the three centers. The more "the monopolists limit mutual competition by means of private associations...the more unbridled the competition between the monopolists of different nations becomes."*

Under current conditions a number of new factors has arisen contributing to an increase in the coordination and mutual actions of the three centers. Primarily there has been a sharp increase in the interdependence of their economies; the deterioration in the conditions of reproduction in the capitalist world is forcing the United States, West Europe and Japan to seek ways of overcoming the economic difficulties not on the paths of competition undermining their strength but on the basis of a quest for joint solutions. The increased synchronicity of the production dynamics of the three centers is also prompting coordination. The crisis in the United States, West

* K. Marx and F. Engels, "Works," vol 4, p 166.

Europe and Japan to seek ways of overcoming the economic difficulties not on the paths of competition undermining their strength but on the basis of a quest for joint solutions. The increased synchronicity of the production dynamics of the three centers is also prompting coordination. The crisis in the United States, West Europe and Japan has affected the same sectors; the internationalization of inflation processes, which have extended to the sphere of international economic relations also, has intensified. To this should be added the fact that exports have ceased to play the part of a kind of safety valve for the monopolies of the three centers--as of the mid-1970's the growth rate of international trade has declined sharply and there has been an absolute reduction in the physical volume of commodity exports: in the United States in 1975, 1981 and 1982, in West Europe in 1975 and in Japan in 1979 and 1982. Under these conditions all three centers have begun to actively resort to protectionism. Cautioning against the devastating consequences of such a policy, the authoritative British weekly *THE ECONOMIST* proclaimed the slogan "import or die".* The United States, West Europe and Japan are also being compelled to pursue a concerted policy by the community of structural problems, which are occupying an increasingly important place in the economic policy of the three centers.

Further, in the atmosphere of the increased confrontation of the two opposite social systems and the strengthening of the national liberation movement in the world there is increased significance in the joint actions of the United States, West Europe and Japan with respect to the formulation of a common policy, primarily in respect of the socialist and also the developing countries. The strengthening of the positions of the United States as of the latter half of the 1970's has frequently enabled it to impose its decision on allies. On the pretext of a "joint" rebuff of the "Soviet threat" and in this connection of the need for the "solidarity of the Western world" American imperialism is not only endeavoring to increase the military-political dependence of West Europe and Japan but also weaken its competitors economically. At the same time the United States fears that the increased clashes among the three centers on an economic basis could undermine the United States--West Europe--Japan military-strategic alliance. Such a policy is an integral part of the United States' aggressive militarist course. "Its essence," Yu. V. Andropov's statement observed, "is an attempt to secure for the United States the dominating positions in the world without regard for the interests of other states and peoples." The fact that in a number of leading imperialist states rightwing, conservative forces have come to power with much in common in the approach to world problems is a subjective factor of the increased coordination of action of the three centers.

A ramified system of coordination has been created in the Common Market, the development of which continued in the 1970's-start of the 1980's. It was brought about to a considerable extent by the aspiration of EEC leaders to overcome the stagnation in the development of West European integration processes. It was in the channel of this trend that a new body not envisaged by the Treaty of Rome was created. It is a question of the Council of Europe--a periodically convened meeting of the heads of state and government

* See *THE ECONOMIST*, 13 November 1982, p 12.

of the members. As of 1969 such meetings were organized annually, and as of 1975 have been conducted three times a year. It has essentially become the supreme instance of the EEC. Over 60 sessions of the Council of Ministers are conducted in Brussels annually. Their participants may be foreign ministers and leaders of other ministries.

The EEC countries aspire to coordinate their positions on the most important questions of international relations. Thus the Ten's efforts were coordinated in the course of the preparation and realization of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, particularly in the economic sphere ("basket two"). There were also intensive preparation in the EEC for the subsequent all-European meetings--in Belgrade (1977-1978) and Madrid (1980-1983). The political positions of the Common Market participants on the Near East conflict and the so-called "Afghan" and "Polish" questions were coordinated quite actively. Albeit with reservations, the EEC supported Britain at the time of the Falklands (Malvinas) adventure. The coordination of action, primarily in the political sphere, is facilitating the ruling circles' offensive against the gains of the working people and the defense of the interests of monopoly capital.

Regular meetings of the heads of the seven leading capitalist states (the last was held in 1983 in Williamsburg) have been a part of practice since 1975, the activity of the Trilateral Commission of representatives of the ruling circles of the United States, West Europe and Japan is organized on a permanent basis, there are constant contacts within the OECD framework and so forth. Opinions are exchanged on urgent problems of the relations of the developed and young national states (on the last occasion in Cancun in 1981).

From the viewpoint of coordination when formulating the common position of the three centers in relation to the developing states two approaches, as it were, may be distinguished: the private-monopoly approach, which is characterized by acute contradictions and a struggle for sales markets and raw material and energy sources in the emergent countries; the other--interstate--approach is distinguished by the leading capitalist countries' aspiration to formulate a uniform platform with regard to the just demands for the democratization of international economic relations being put forward by the young states.

In the period in question the United States, West Europe and Japan succeeded by and large in keeping to similar positions in respect of the developing world and strengthening the system of contractual relations with them in the trade-economic sphere by means of the conclusion of bilateral and multilateral agreements and also with the aid of international organizations. It is a question of the capitalist countries making this individual concession or the other and separating the young states on this basis and counterposing them to one another and of attempts to tie them more closely to the capitalist system.

Imperialism's global approach to the emergent countries is being combined increasingly strongly with the regional approach and this power center of

imperialism or the other's "assimilation" of a certain region of the developing world. With a certain amount of conditionality we may speak of Latin America as the dependent periphery of the United States, Africa and the Mediterranean countries of the Common Market and countries and territories of Southeast Asia of Japan.

As a whole, as of the latter half of the 1970's the young states have not succeeded in any appreciable way in easing economic dependence on the centers of imperialism and changing the international capitalist division of labor in a direction favorable to themselves. The relative significance of the capitalist countries in their foreign trade volume not only has not diminished but is even tending to increase. There has been virtually no increase in the proportion of reciprocal trade among the developing countries themselves.

The developing countries' relative significance in the direct overseas investments of the international monopolies of the three centers has grown, and there has been an increase in the transfer to the young states of laborious and ecologically harmful and also certain technologically complex operations. The tremendous dependence of the developing countries in the sphere of science, equipment and technology continues. The contradictions between the developed and developing states have increased. By the start of 1983 the developing countries' foreign indebtedness in the currency-finance sphere to basically American, West European and Japanese banks was more than \$750 billion.* The problem of its repayment has been exacerbated extraordinarily, which the transnational banks are using as a means of additional pressure on the emergent countries. The developing countries' short-term offensive against the economic positions of imperialism in the mid-1970's linked primarily to the increase in the oil price and the advancement of the program of a new international economic order was not further developed.

The trend toward an increase in capitalist coordination in the sphere of the economy as of the 1970's brought about by the deterioration in the conditions of reproduction, the growth of antagonisms and contradictions in the capitalist economy, the exacerbation of relations with the developing countries and also the aspiration to oppose the strengthening of the positions of socialism has its objective and subjective limits.

The point is that the real subjects of the international economic relations of capitalism are primarily the TNC, whose activity at every step runs counter to the aspiration to introduce a regulating principle and elements of plan-conformity in relations between capitalist states. The distinctiveness of the forms in which the international socialization of production occurs under the conditions of present-day capitalism predetermines the limited nature of macroeconomic regulation within an interstate framework. "Joint policy" itself, as a rule, is constructed on provisional and unenduring compromises, which are sometimes imposed by the strongest. The United States is for the most part currently the initiator of imperialism's "concerted action". At the same time the West European and Japanese centers are unwilling to go so far to accommodate Washington's demands that this infringes the interests of their finance capital.

* See THE ECONOMIST, 30 April 1983, p 11.

The overall result of the development of the United States, West Europe and Japan throughout the 1970's-start of the 1980's is that polycentrism in the capitalist world, despite a certain strengthening of the positions of the United States, has increased. The West European center has in practice maintained its place, while Japan has developed from a regional into a world economic power. There has been an appreciable stimulation of the foreign policy course of the West European and Japanese centers, and their military potential has strengthened. As a whole, the nature of relations among the United States, West Europe (primarily the EEC) and Japan is increasingly determined by the relative independence of each of the centers, which have begun to act not only as centers of imperialist rivalry but also power centers of imperialism.

When evaluating the prospects of the correlation of the forces of the three centers "the possibility of a certain acceleration of the United States' economic growth compared with its competitors in the coming years cannot be ruled out."* This will occur if the United States is able to avail itself of the advantages which it possesses in the world capitalist economy and which we have mentioned. However, for a substantial upward spurt the United States has to solve a number of structural problems of the economy, which, in turn, presupposes a considerable growth of capital investments in production. The military-political course of the R. Reagan administration, which is being accompanied by a huge diversion of resources from production consumption, is impeding the realization of this task. At the same time West Europe has not reconciled itself to the loss of its positions and is endeavoring to prevent a return to the times when the United States unreservedly held sway in the capitalist world. It is also attempting to prevent a further increase in technological dependence on Japan. The leadership of the leading West European states is streamlining at the expense of the working people the old and reorganizing the progressive science-intensive sectors of industry. Definite hopes are being put in supplementing integration "from below" with integration "from above"; realization of the Colombo-Genscher Plan is intended to ensure the transition from the interstate integration mechanism to a mechanism at the level an integration association of the West European center as a whole.

Japan is continuing to strengthen its economic positions. The increasing trends in this country of an intensive buildup of scientific-technical potential and the development of the structural reorganization of the economy with the preferential development of the science-intensive sectors obviously testify to the real possibility of Japan becoming a strong pole of scientific-technical progress and an even more dangerous competitor of the United States and West Europe in economic sphere. Japan's ruling circles have not abandoned the idea of catching up with the United States in the foreseeable future in the most important indicators of economic development and becoming the No 1 capitalist power.

* SShA--EKONOMIKA, POLITIKA, IDEOLOGIYA No 7, 1983, p 114.

Further, in characterizing the global positions of the three centers we cannot overlook the possibilities of new states being pulled into the orbit of each of them and the further spread of the centers' magnetic forces beyond their borders. Thus Canada plays the part of such a country for the United States. As a result the processes of the formation of North American economic integration and, subsequently, a North American center of imperialism headed by the United States are gathering pace.

The substantial market space of the EEC is of great magnetic force for the neighboring countries of West Europe. For this reason they are increasingly being pulled into a system of economic relations with the West European power center as the nucleus. The number of participants in the Community is increasing. Britain, Denmark and Ireland, which officially joined the Common Market in 1973, became full members thereof in mid-1977. Greece joined the EEC at the start of 1981. The question of Spain and Portugal joining the Ten in the latter half of the 1980's appears settled. Entry into the Common Market as either full members or with special status of a number of other countries which already have association agreements with the EEC is not ruled out in the future.

Besides strengthening its positions in Southeast Asian countries, the Japanese center is pulling Australia increasingly strongly into the zone of its economic interests. The future of the two countries will depend to a considerable extent on the nature of their mutual relations, a high level of development of which could accelerate the processes of the economic rapprochement of countries and territories of the Pacific and be the nucleus of some new integration grouping (a Pacific community, for example). The economic and to a certain extent political and military leveling of the capitalist world is a footboard, as it were, for a new twist of the unevenness spiral and a change of leaders in the capitalist world. Whether it will be the United States, which has sharply intensified the struggle to strengthen its world positions, or Japan, to which Western futurologists "give" the 21st century, one thing is clear, and that is that the capitalist world is entering a period of its development when the competitive struggle among the three centers is assuming particularly destructive forms.

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CURRENT WORLD POLITICAL, ECONOMIC PROBLEMS DISCUSSED

Moscow MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA in Russian No 1, Jan 84
pp 82-101

[I. Aleksandrov, E. Borodulin, V. Vladimirov, Ye. Volkova international survey: "Current Problems of World Politics"]

[Text] The times in which we are living will go down in history as a time of the greatest battle for peace.

The atmosphere in the world has been exacerbated to the extreme as a result of the aggressive, adventurist policy of the ruling circles of the United States and certain Western countries operating in concert with them. With the start of the deployment of the new American missiles on European soil the Geneva negotiations on intermediate-range nuclear weapons were suspended and the real danger that the United States will involve the European peoples in a nuclear catastrophe has increased sharply. The United States' military potential is being built up on an unprecedented scale. Programs for the production of all types of weapons--nuclear, chemical, conventional--are being adopted and implemented. It is planned to shift the arms race to space also. The purpose of these preparations is to achieve military superiority over the USSR and have the opportunity of dictating its will to the world.

This is an unattainable goal. The good will of the Soviet Union and its desire to reach an understanding should not be taken as a sign of weakness. The USSR will be able to give a suitable response to any attempt to break up the evolved military-strategic balance, and its words will not be at variance with its deeds. But in responding to the challenge of imperialism the USSR again declares: all its intentions and aspirations are geared to achieving a decisive change for the better in the international situation. "For the Soviet leadership the question of what line to follow in international affairs even in the present serious situation," Yu V. Andropov emphasized, "does not arise. Our course is, as before, aimed at the preservation and consolidation of peace, the relaxation of tension, curbing the arms race and the expansion and deepening of cooperation between states. Such is the invariable will of the CPSU and the entire Soviet people. Such, we are convinced, are the cherished aspirations of all peoples."

1. The Wisdom of Peace Against the Madness of War

Mankind is experiencing a critical period. Despite the warnings of the Soviet Union and the flexibility which it displayed in Geneva and despite the clearly expressed will of the world community, Washington and, together with it, Bonn, London and Rome have taken a reckless step--embarked on the deployment on the territory of Britain, Italy and the FRG of new American medium-range missiles. The purpose of this action is obvious--to break up the rough equivalence of forces which exists in Europe, nuclear included, in favor of the West.

For almost 40 years Europe has been living under conditions of peace. This has been possible thanks to the consistent foreign policy of the socialist community countries, the efforts of the continent's peace-loving forces and also the realistic position of commonsensical politicians in the West. The rough equivalence of military forces which had taken shape between the countries of the North Atlantic alliance and the Warsaw Pact states, including the approximate parity in the sphere of nuclear arms, objectively served the cause of European security and stability. Now the United States and NATO as a whole are attempting to tip the scales in their favor, throwing onto them a further 572 nuclear missiles.

The advocates of NATO's "rearmament" twist and turn, attempting to portray matters such that it is not the United States and not NATO as a whole which are to blame for the most dangerous exacerbation of the situation and that its first cause is contained in some "Soviet military superiority," although the true state of affairs in the sphere of nuclear arms in Europe is no secret to anyone, NATO strategists included.

NATO possesses in the European region 857 nuclear delivery systems. These are 162 sea- and ground-based missiles (64 British Polaris A-3TK and 98 French M-20 and S-2 missiles) and approximately 700 medium-range aircraft (the American F-4's and F-111's in Britain and the FRG and A-6's and A-7's on U.S. carriers off the shores of Europe and 44 French Mirage-IV bombers. The USSR has 938 medium-range delivery systems (SS-4 and SS-20 missiles and aircraft of the corresponding class). The Soviet side's slight preponderance in delivery systems is compensated by NATO's superiority in the number of nuclear warheads: the USSR has 2,153, NATO 3,056. A rough equivalence of forces.

Nor does the version that decisive significance for the North Atlantic bloc's adoption of the decision to "rearm" was attached to the appearance in the Soviet Union of SS-20's, which has long been spread by Western disinformation workers, withstand any criticism.

In reality the modernization of obsolete Soviet medium-range missiles by way of replacing them with SS-20 missiles did not change and could not have changed the strategic situation in Europe. It followed in response--and a forced response, moreover--to the threat created by both the forward-based nuclear missiles in Europe of the United States and the analogous weapons of its NATO allies--Britain and France. Back at the start of the 1970's the Americans had embarked on realization of the plan for the modernization

and buildup of NATO nuclear forces in Europe. In 1974, prior to possession being taken of the Soviet SS-20's, the U.S. Defense Secretary J. Schlesinger asked Congress to allocate funds for the development of a version of the Pershing missile which in 1979 came to figure in the well-known NATO Brussels decision under the name "Pershing 2". Contracts had already been concluded by that time for the manufacture of the new American medium-range systems for the European "theater".

And if the object of NATO strategists' concerns really had been the SS-20 missiles and not other factors (which we will touch on below), it was sufficient for them to have accepted one of the Soviet Union's proposals at the Geneva negotiations in order to significantly reduce the number of these missiles or eliminate them in the European part of the USSR altogether.

The proposals submitted by the Soviet side contained all the necessary elements for a mutually acceptable accord not infringing anyone's interests-- neither those of the USSR and its allies, the United States nor the West European states. In its final form the Soviet position at the negotiations appeared thus:

bearing in mind the number of warheads on the British and French missiles, the USSR could leave in Europe approximately 140 SS-20 launchers, that is, noticeably fewer than Britain's and France's launchers. The Soviet missiles reduced in the European zone here would not be rebased eastward, nor would missiles be transferred from east to west. Thus in the event of agreement being reached on a just basis, a considerable proportion of the SS-20 missiles would be eliminated (the Soviet Union would eliminate all its SS-4's merely upon the United States forgoing the deployment of its new missiles). With the achievement of an agreement and its coming into force there would also be a halt to the deployment of SS-20 missiles in the eastern parts of the USSR. The Soviet Union expressed a readiness to also display additional flexibility on the question of the establishment of summary levels of medium-range launcher aircraft equal for the USSR and NATO within a mutually acceptable numerical range considerably different from that proposed previously.

The Soviet Union underpinned its peace initiatives with practical solutions testifying to its sincere desire to reduce the level of nuclear arms in Europe. While the negotiations were being conducted in Geneva it removed several dozen of its medium-range missiles in the European part of the country. The SS-5 missiles were removed from effective combat strength completely. A moratorium was imposed on the deployment of medium-range nuclear arms in the European part and beyond the Urals, in areas from where they could reach West European countries. "In the 2 years of negotiations," Yu V. Andropov emphasized in answers to questions from PRAVDA, "the Soviet Union has proven convincingly that it is prepared to move toward bold decisions for the sake of warding off the nuclear danger from Europe and strengthening security on our continent and throughout the world."

Throughout the negotiations, however, Washington put forward with maniacal insistence proposals aimed at the achievement of nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union. And the closer the deadline, established by NATO arbitrarily

and without any real grounds, beyond which deployment of the new American missiles was to begin, the more clearly was United States' aspiration to break up the rough equivalence in its favor and in favor of the North Atlantic alliance as a whole displayed. The last such American initiative was the "improved" version proclaimed by R. Reagan in the fall of 1983.

As an important "shift" in his own position and a big "concession" to the Soviet Union, the head of the White House "consented" to the establishment of "an equal global maximum" of 420 warheads on medium-range missiles for the USSR and the United States. Hopes were put in the psychological effect, which was to have concealed the self-interest essence of the American proposal: 420 warheads means less than now and in equal numbers, what is more, and is this not the quantity of missiles which the Soviet Union itself proposes retaining?

Nonetheless, the beguiling simplicity could not deceive--Reagan's trick was comprehended and exposed. This proposal, H. Ehmke, deputy chairman of the SPD Bundestag faction, for example, declared, was aimed not at promoting the success of the Geneva negotiations but deceiving the public. It was not progress, he said, but a regression in the efforts to curb the arms race. It is not difficult to see that in putting forward its "new" proposal the United States was again heading for acquiring nuclear preponderance on the side of NATO: in the event of its realization, the count in nuclear warheads would be 840:420 in favor of NATO since on this occasion also the American side again refused to count in the overall balance the nuclear forces of Britain and France, and these are approximately 420 warheads.

In R. Reagan's "new" proposal the Soviet Union was "permitted" 140 SS-20 missiles, but...on the entire territory of the USSR. Thus the United States wished essentially to liquidate all the corresponding Soviet arms designed to perform defense functions in the Asian part of the country. The United States, on the other hand, could have deployed its missiles where it thought fit here, just as long as they reached Soviet territory. One wonders why it was necessary to draw up one after the other proposals which were knowingly unacceptable to the Soviet side?

The exaggerated diplomatic activity was designed to create the appearance of a desire to negotiate seriously and for a search for a way toward agreement. In reality, however, to drag out the negotiations and the time until December 1983 arrived. The same goal--concealing the preparations for the deployment of the missiles and deceiving the public concerning the true state of affairs at the negotiations--was served by the constant disinformation spread by the United States. One such measure of propaganda "cover" was, for example, the demagogic racket kicked up over the promise to withdraw 1,400 American nuclear warheads from Europe, which was to have attested the United States' "love of peace". Silence was maintained here, however, about the fact that it was a question of the evacuation of "nuclear junk" which had completely outlived its usefulness--the Nike-Hercules air defense missiles accepted 20 years ago and no longer corresponding to NATO requirements, nuclear high-explosive mines which have long been considered useless and obsolete artillery

shells which it was intended to scrap back in 1977. Attempts were also made to conceal the fact that neutron warheads, not to mention the Pershing 2's and cruise missiles, are being prepared to replace them.

However, public opinion was neither deceived nor lulled. The question of the new American missiles divided people in Western countries like a barricade. On one side were those who supported NATO's "rearmament," the minority. On the other side protesting the new American missiles on European soil were more than 50 percent of Italians, 60 percent of the British and Norwegians, 75 percent of West Germans and 80 percent of Belgians. The antiwar protests became increasingly active and large-scale as the fatal deadline approached. Representatives of various parties, people holding various political views and members of women's, youth and religious organizations participated.

Today the name of the British town of Greenham Common is known on all continents. It has become a symbol of the British peace fighters' stanchness and resolve to curb the arms race and avert the threat of nuclear catastrophe. At the start of September it was 2 years since courageous women put up a tent city around the American air base. Thousands-strong demonstrations have been held here all this time. The authorities have repeatedly swept the camp from the face of the earth. Hundreds of its inhabitants have been arrested, dozens have appeared in court. But the town continues to live and fight for people's will to peace is inexorable.

An Action Week for Disarmament was held at the end of October following a decision of a special session of the UN General Assembly and World Peace Council. Millions of people took part in the meetings and demonstrations held within its framework and expressed their aspiration to peace. The biggest demonstrations in the history of the antiwar movement were held in the FRG, Belgium, Britain, France and the Netherlands. There were mass protests in many cities of the United States, Canada and Japan.

A large group of well-known politicians from West European countries which visited the United States in mid-September asked the R. Reagan administration to abandon the deployment of the American missiles in West Europe. At a meeting with U.S. congressmen they declared that the inhabitants of West Europe do not wish to be Washington's "hostages". D. Healey, deputy leader of Britain's Labor Party, in particular, pointed to the absurdity of the claims concerning the possibility of waging a "limited" nuclear war and emphasized that the American missiles intended for deployment in West Europe are first-strike weapons.

And the campaign against NATO's nuclear "rearmament" has assumed considerable proportions in the United States itself. "No to the cruise and Pershings," "We demand that taxpayers' dollars go to create jobs and expand social services and not on new types of weapons of mass extermination" leaflets distributed during an antiwar march in Washington said. Mass meetings, peace marches and debates have been held throughout the country--in big cities and small towns. According to American press reports, there are over 3,000

antiwar organizations in the United States opposed to the arms race and the threat of nuclear war being spurred by the White House. Twentythree American cities have been declared nuclear-free zones.

But the machinery of bourgeois "democracy" did its work, and the parliaments of Britain, Italy and the FRG confirmed--contrary to the clearly expressed will of the majority of the population of these countries--their consent to the deployment of the new American medium-range missiles on the territory of their states. The appearance of the Pershing 2's and cruise missiles on European soil has become a fait accompli. Underpinning the adventurist "crusade" against socialism announced by Washington with a concrete nuclear missile base in Europe has begun. Deployment of the new American missiles, particularly the Pershing 2's, actually creates a new nuclear system with possibilities which make it a continuation, as it were, of the U.S. strategic arsenal. The Pershing 2 missiles, the American Committee for a Sensible Nuclear Policy, observed, are the instrument of the doctrine according to which a nuclear war can be fought and can be won. They are intended for use in a preemptive strike.

Having carefully considered all aspects of the situation, the statement of Yu. V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, says, the Soviet leadership has adopted the following decisions:

Inasmuch as by its actions the United States has frustrated the possibility of mutually acceptable accord being reached at the negotiations on limiting nuclear arms in Europe and their continuation under these conditions would be merely a cover for actions of the United States and a number of other NATO countries aimed at undermining European and international security the Soviet Union deemed its continued participation in these negotiations impossible.

The commitments aimed at creating more favorable conditions for the achievement of success at the negotiations assumed unilaterally by the Soviet Union have been canceled; the moratorium on the deployment of Soviet medium-range nuclear missiles in the European part of the USSR is hereby canceled.

In coordination with the governments of the GDR and the CSSR preparatory work on the deployment of increased-range tactical missiles on the territory of these countries has been speeded up.

Inasmuch as by way of the deployment of its missiles in Europe the United States is increasing the nuclear threat for the Soviet Union the corresponding Soviet missiles will be deployed with regard for this fact in ocean areas and seas. In their specifications these Soviet missiles will be adequate to the threat created for the USSR and its allies by the American missiles deployed in Europe.

The Soviet leader emphasized that the retaliatory measures on the part of the USSR will be kept strictly within the limits dictated by the actions of the NATO countries. If the United States and other countries of the bloc

display a readiness to return to the situation which existed prior to the start of the deployment of the American medium-range missiles in Europe, the Soviet Union is ready to do this also. The proposals on limiting and reducing nuclear arms in Europe submitted earlier would then also take effect. In this case the USSR's unilateral commitments in this sphere would also be resumed. Simultaneously the Soviet state repeated anew its proposal to make Europe free of nuclear weapons altogether--both medium-range and tactical. "The Soviet leadership declares," Yu.V. Andropov observed, "that, abiding by the will of the Soviet people, it will continue to do everything to avert the threat of war and preserve peace for present and future generations."

The statement concentrated, a CPSU Central Committee Politburo session observed, the will of the entire party and the entire Soviet people and their unbending resolve to duly respond to the adventurist, militarist policy of the present U.S. Administration and the NATO bloc and reliably protect the security of our country and the socialist community as a whole. The Soviet Union's retaliatory measures are absolutely essential to ensure the military equilibrium which American imperialism is endeavoring to upset.

The conclusions and decisions contained in the statement are wholly and fully shared and supported by the fraternal socialist countries. The socialist community states, E. Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, declared at an SED plenum, cannot in the interests of their security and the security of all peoples allow the United States and NATO to secure their military-political superiority. The GDR, he emphasized, will continue to contribute to the cause of averting a nuclear catastrophe and defending universal peace. It is a firm link of the Warsaw Pact organization and ready at any time to carry out its allied commitments.

Considering the militarist preparations of the United States and its NATO allies, G. Husak, general secretary of the CPCz Central Committee and president of the CSSR, said, peace demonstrations must be conducted in close connection with the constant strengthening of defense capability. It is to this that the decisions of the USSR and CSSR governments are geared. We must concern ourselves, the Czechoslovak leader emphasized at a CPCz Central Committee plenum, with a constant strengthening of the alliance with the USSR and the other socialist countries.

Yu. V. Andropov's statement was perceived by sober-minded people in the West as an exceptionally serious warning of the dangerous consequences with which a continuation of the present U.S. Administration's policy of military confronting with the Soviet Union is fraught. They realize that the deployment of the new missiles has called in question everything positive achieved by collective efforts within the framework of the all-European process. It would be naive to think that the missile "palisade" will not be reflected in the state of the entire complex of East-West relations. It also has to be contemplated that within the range of the American nuclear missiles lie not only the European continent but also North Africa and the Near East.

And who knows into what adventures the countries which have today made over their territory for the Pershings and cruise under the command of an unpredictable American ally may find themselves pulled, even against their will. "All West Europeans," THE NEW YORK TIMES wrote, "who consider the United States an unreliable, bellicose and amoral ally have unexpectedly had almost perfect confirmation of this in connection with the United States' invasion of Grenada.... All West Europeans who consider that the American missiles are not so much a protection of as a threat to their security considered this invasion corroboration of their arguments."

Recognition of the impending danger is forcing the West Europeans to act or, more precisely, counteract the American strategy of a "crusade" against those who do not accept the pax Americana. Peace supporters in West Europe do not believe that their struggle ended with the start of the deployment of the missiles. On the contrary, they are redoubling their efforts. The protest is assuming the most varied forms--from traditional peace marches and the blocking of military bases to court actions seeking to have the decision on the deployment of the American missiles declared unconstitutional and illegal, as has been done by a number of public organizations of the FRG, for example. And official representatives of Sweden and Finland have warned that in the event of a military conflict, their countries' air forces will shoot down the cruise missile if they violate Swedish or Finnish airspace.

But whereas the new American missiles are not being inscribed in the political landscape of Europe, they appear as a logical component of the global strategy of the United States. Without regard for the interests of other states and peoples, its essence is attempting to secure for the United States the dominating positions in the world. Such a policy permits the waging of "limited," "local" and "global" wars inasmuch as it presupposes that a nuclear war may be won. "From the first day of its existence," the journal PROGRESSIVE (United States) observes, "the Reagan administration has been preparing the American people for universal stakes. This administration is not interested in the slightest in arms control, disarmament or peace."

In the first 6 months of 1983 arms production in the United States grew more than 11 percent. And the new fiscal year of 1984 has begun in the United States with gigantic appropriations for military purposes--over \$280 billion. With these funds it is planned, in particular, to purchase 21 MX intercontinental missiles, 10 new B-1 bombers, 95 Pershing 2 missiles and other arms. In the 1985 fiscal year it is planned to spend \$322.5 billion on military preparations, and in the next 5 years more than \$2.5 trillion. A considerable proportion of this money will go on nuclear weapons. Thus according to data of the Washington Military Information Center, the Reagan administration plans in the 1980's to produce 17,000 various nuclear warheads.

Simultaneously American officials came out with a self-exposing statement once again attesting their reluctance to negotiate seriously on limiting and reducing nuclear arsenals, particularly negotiations with the USSR on a complete ban on nuclear weapon testing. "Nuclear tests," the reply given by the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency to an inquiry from the House

Appropriations Committee said, "are essential for the development and modernization of warheads, maintaining the reliability of the stockpiles and evaluating the effect of the use of nuclear arms."

Work is being performed on a broad scale on the creation of an all-embracing ABM system, whose purpose is to secure for the U.S. militarists the capacity for delivering a nuclear first strike against the USSR with impunity. The Reagan administration has unfolded yet another new area of the arms race--preparations for a war in space.

The United States is attempting to knock together a Far East version of NATO based on the Washington--Tokyo--Seoul military-political triangle. It was in precisely this key that R. Reagan's visit in the first half of November to Japan and South Korea was sustained.

As a result of the talks in Tokyo the U.S. President managed to win essential concessions from the Japanese leaders. Japan gave the United States access to the use of its advanced technology for military purposes (a corresponding agreement was signed). Increasingly insistent calls are being heard from Washington for the Japanese Government to increase military spending, build up the combat strength of the self-defense forces (which applies primarily to the navy), conduct a larger number of joint military exercises and maneuvers with the United States and toughen its approach to the USSR.

The U.S. President's visit to South Korea again demonstrated that Washington views the south of the Korean peninsula as the most forward boundary and nuclear beachhead on the threshold of the Soviet states--up to 700 American tactical nuclear warheads are deployed there already.

That imperialism is straining to take "class revenge" against history is nothing new. What is new is the scale and level of the confrontation. The dangerous, but hopeless policy will not bring imperialism the results it desires. The Soviet Union will not permit military superiority over it.

2. Along the Path of Peace and Creation

"Our revolution is 66 years old," the ceremonial session on 5 November 1983 observed. "They have accommodated an entire era--a tempestuous, dramatic covered era surrounded by the heroism and filled with the selfless labor of millions of people inspired by great goals. Our revolution is young and dynamic, as before. October was and remains the source of the fundamental and most profound transformations of the world in which we live. Time is, as before, working for revolution. It is working for communism!"

In accordance with tradition, the labor collectives reported just prior to the holidays the achievements in all-union socialist competition and their contribution to the fulfillment of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, the targets of the 11th Five-Year Plan and the plans and pledges for 1983.

The past year was marked by a further upsurge of all sociopolitical life and an improvement in the style and methods of work of the party and soviet

authorities in accordance with the requirements of the CPSU Central Committee November (1982) and June (1983) plenums. This was reflected in the higher level of organization, discipline, close unity of word and deed and the increased efficiency of planning and management.

In the national economy there was a pronounced increase compared with the average annual indicators of the first 2 years of the 5-year plan in the growth rate of social production and labor productivity. The base sectors of industry took a step forward. According to the USSR Central Statistical Administration report, industry fulfilled the plan for 9 months of 1983 for output sales 101 percent. The plan for the volume of output was fulfilled by all industrial ministries and union republics. The quotas for the manufacture of many of the most important types of product were exceeded. The increase in the overall production volume compared with the corresponding period of 1982 constituted 4.1 percent. Labor productivity increased 3.5 percent, and this was responsible for 88 percent of the output increase. The planned volume of the production of the majority of consumer goods was achieved.

Measures were implemented to raise the technical level of production. Some 6,000 mechanized flow lines and transfer machines were installed at industrial enterprises, 3,500 sections, shops and works were switched to comprehensive mechanization and automation and 153 production process ASU's were created. The manufacture of more than 2,000 new products was assimilated and begun. However, industry failed to meet a number of targets with respect to the assimilation and introduction of new equipment.

More grain, potatoes, sugar beet, vegetables and fruit were cultivated and procured than in preceding years. The workers of the agro-industrial complex are working persistently on realization of the Food Program.

Last October the multinational family of Soviet peoples celebrated a glorious anniversary--the 200th anniversary of the friendly Georgiyev Treaty between Russia and Georgia--the great charter and manifesto of the friendship and fraternity of the Russian and Georgian peoples. The conclusion of the Georgiyev Treaty opened a new page in the history of the Georgian people. By all its present day, upward flight and prosperity Soviet Georgia convincingly confirmed the great soundness of the forefathers who made the sole correct, historically necessary choice in favor of union with the Russian people.

The newsreel of the Soviet state's foreign policy activity was rich and intensive. Particular attention was paid to the problem of limiting nuclear arms in Europe and questions of international cooperation. These subjects were at the center of the talks held in September-November 1983 by A.A. Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and USSR foreign minister, with the leaders of the FRG, France and Austria. It was emphasized repeatedly from the Soviet side here that the Soviet Union invariably advocates a solution of the problem of nuclear weapons on the European continent whereby no one's security is infringed and the level of nuclear confrontation is sharply lowered. The

USSR's specific proposals opening a real path to the achievement of mutually acceptable accords are aimed at precisely this.

The USSR and Finland ratified a protocol extending the Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance Treaty between the two states. The treaty has been in effect for 35 years now and has been extended for the third time--now for a period stretching not only into the next century but the next millennium also. This once again attests the relevancy of the idea of peaceful coexistence and cooperation between states with different social systems.

The need for the stimulation of all peace-loving forces in the struggle against the military danger and for the strengthening of world peace was emphasized in the course of A.A. Gromyko's conversation in September with S.M. Dost, member of the PDPA Central Committee and DRA foreign minister. The realistic and constructive program of a political settlement of the situation surrounding Afghanistan, A.A. Gromyko emphasized, enjoys the firm support of the Soviet Union. The main goal of such a settlement should be, as the DRA Government rightly believes, ensuring a complete end to and the guaranteed non-resumption of the armed and other foreign interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs.

The peoples of the fraternal socialist community countries are marching shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet Union in single formation in the struggle for peace, international security and the curbing of the arms race.

The resolve of the socialist countries to strengthen the unity and cohesion of the community, contribute to the effective interaction of the Warsaw Pact states and duly rebuff all imperialism's attempts to disunite the ranks of the socialist countries was expressed in the course of the 14 October meeting between A.A. Gromyko and T. Zhivkov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Bulgarian State Council. The sides declared the indomitable aspiration of the USSR and Bulgaria to do everything to achieve an improvement in the international political climate.

A.A. Gromyko's friendly visit to the GDR in the latter half of October 1983 testified as clearly as could be to the indestructibility of the ties binding the socialist countries. In the course of A.A. Gromyko's talks with E. Honecker satisfaction was expressed at the fruitful development of relations between the countries in accordance with the Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance Treaty. The development of these relations had been given new impetus, as was mentioned, by the accords reached in the course of the visit of a GDR party-government delegation to the USSR in May 1983. A central place in the exchange of opinions on international affairs was occupied by the problem of limiting nuclear arms in Europe.

B. Chnoupek, member of the CPCz Central Committee and CSSR foreign minister, was in the Soviet Union on a working visit on 26-27 September. Questions of Soviet-Czechoslovak relations and also a number of pertinent international problems were discussed during talks between A.A. Gromyko and B. Chnoupek.

A joint communique emphasized particularly the need to decisively counteract the aggressive, militarist policy of imperialist circles, primarily of the United States.

The official friendly visit of a Soviet party-government delegation headed by G.A. Aliyev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam from 27 October through 4 November 1983 was a contribution to the strengthening of the socialist community. The delegation took part in the festivities devoted to the fifth anniversary of the Soviet-Vietnamese Friendship and Cooperation Treaty. As a result of the talks a long-term program of the development of economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the USSR and Vietnam was signed.

In the course of an exchange of opinions on urgent problems of the current international situation the participants in the talks noted that an unprecedented exacerbation of the struggle of the two social systems is currently under way. Imperialism, primarily America, is increasing the arms race, carrying out provocations now in one, now in another region and flagrantly interfering in other states' internal affairs. All this is subordinated to the imperial task of halting and rolling back the development of the world socialist system, the emergent states and the national liberation movement. The sides emphatically condemned these actions of imperialism, as a result of which the international atmosphere has been strained to a dangerous level.

The socialist countries are paying considerable attention to the international situation in Asia.

The interests of an improvement in the political climate in Southeast Asia and the conversion of this area into a zone of peace are served by the policy pursued by the People's Republic of Kampuchea in conjunction with Vietnam and Laos, and the Soviet Union expresses its support for this policy. A.A. Gromyko declared in the course of a conversation with Hun Sen, member of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and Kampuchean foreign minister. The policy of external forces is the cause of the complication of the situation in Southeast Asia.

Opinions were exchanged on a number of urgent questions of the situation in Asia and problems of peace and security on the continent in the course of a consultative working meeting on 26-27 October 1983 in Ulaanbaatar. The deputy foreign ministers of Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, the GDR, Kampuchea, Cuba, Laos, Mongolia, Poland, the USSR and the CSSR participated. The meeting emphasized the significance of the Soviet initiatives aimed at limiting nuclear weapons in Asia and also naval operations in the seas and oceans. Increasingly great practical significance is attached to the USSR's proposal for negotiations on confidence-building measures in the Far East.

Among the events of the final quarter of 1983 were the friendly visits and talks of E. Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, with G. Husak, general secretary of the CPCz Central Committee and president of the CSSR, in Prague, of J. Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, with W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, in Warsaw and J. Kadar's meetings and talks with G. Husak in Prague. The socialist countries, as demonstrated anew by the talks of the party-government delegations of these countries, are bound by firm ties of friendship, fraternal cooperation and mutual assistance, the basis of which is unity of goals: peace and labor.

Exceptional significance is attached to socialist economic integration. "It is impossible today," Yu.V. Andropov observed at the CPSU Central Committee June (1983) Plenum, "to imagine the life of the socialist community countries without it. In the future integration will become increasingly profound, all-embracing and efficient, reliably ensuring the strengthening of the participants' national economies. Our joint efforts are geared to this."

An important new step en route to the continued broadening of the cooperation of the socialist countries was the latest, 37th, meeting of the CEMA Session in the GDR capital of Berlin 18-20 October 1983. In the time that had elapsed since the preceding meeting, despite the deterioration in international conditions and the increase in the cost of the production of raw material and energy, the CEMA countries achieved a further growth of national income, production in industry, particularly in the sectors determining an acceleration of the scientific-technical revolution, and in agriculture increased and there was a rise in the working people's well-being. The increase in production in 1982 and 1983 was obtained basically thanks to increased labor productivity. The quotas of the third year of the 5-year plan are being fulfilled successfully. In the first 6 months of 1983 the gross industrial product increased 4.3 percent compared with the corresponding period of 1982.

The CEMA countries are embarking on the coordination of national economic plans for the next 5-year period. In the course of this work it is important to strive for the further development of production specialization and co-operation in the leading sectors of industry both on a multilateral and bilateral basis. The CEMA session examined and approved the basic directions of expanded cooperation for the economical and rational use of fuel-energy and raw material resources, secondary resources included. It was deemed necessary to draw up within the CEMA bodies together with the measures which will be implemented in the next few years and in the next 5-year plan a program of cooperation in this sphere up to the year 2000.

Considering the paramount significance of the development of sectors of the agro-industrial complex for an improvement in provision of the CEMA countries' population with foodstuffs, the session approved comprehensive measures for cooperation in this sphere. They supplement the long-term goal-oriented program of cooperation in the sphere of agriculture and food industry adopted earlier.

The heads of the delegations of the CEMA countries confirmed the invariability of their countries' policy of the development of trade-economic relations with all states prepared to cooperate on an equal, mutually profitable basis, irrespective of the level of economic development and socioeconomic system. At the same time there was emphasis of the importance of the broadening of mutually profitable economic cooperation within the CEMA framework for the accelerated development of production and the reciprocal supplies of products imports of which have been complicated owing to the policy of discrimination against the CEMA countries in trade-economic relations being pursued by certain capitalist countries. The statement adopted by the participants in the meeting again confirmed the invariability of the fraternal socialist countries' policy of averting a further escalation of the arms race, preserving peace and developing cooperation between peoples.

The fraternal countries are engaged in socialist building in a difficult international situation. But even under these complicated conditions, despite the discriminatory measures on the part of the West, the economy of the socialist countries continued to develop in line of ascent. In Bulgaria the manufacture of industrial output in the 9 months increased 5 percent compared with the same period of the preceding year, and the animal husbandry product increased 4 percent. Czechoslovakia's industry overfulfilled the quota for the three quarters, increasing the production volume 3.1 percent, and a record grain harvest was gathered in--more than 11 million tons. The national economy of the GDR, where the movement for economies in raw material and energy is broadening, is developing steadily. A further increase in production was observed in Hungary, Mongolia, Romania, Vietnam and the other countries of the community.

The past year was marked by a certain stabilization of the situation in Poland. The process of economic recovery began, although the Polish people still have many difficulties to overcome. "...The most dramatic is behind us, but the most difficult lies ahead," W. Jaruzelski said in an interview with USSR Central Television. "Why the most difficult? Because this will require a great deal of patience and great material self-sacrifice, but primarily time. After all, all this is taking place under the fire of internal and foreign enemies." Martial law has been lifted, and life in the country is returning to normal. There is an improvement in practically all areas. But this does not mean, of course, the Polish leader emphasized, that the enemies of socialism have ceased to stir, incite and poison the minds of certain groups of the population.

The problems of the situation in the country were examined by a PZPR Central Committee plenum in October, which provided a characterization of the anti-socialist currents which had appeared in Poland in the period of the crisis: they concentrated their attacks against the PZPR as the vanguard political organization of the working class and attempted to discredit the alliance, friendship and cooperation with the USSR and destroy the foundation on which Poland's security and the inviolability of its borders and peaceful relations in Europe are based. The enemy has been beaten off, the plenum pointed out, but has not laid down his arms.

An ever increasing number of Poles are beginning to realize what role in the kindling of the crisis in the country was performed by the reactionary forces of the West and how right the Polish communists were who opened the people's eyes to the fact that Poland had become a kind of proving ground of the cold war. Now, when the far-reaching imperialist plans of a counterrevolutionary coup have failed, the reactionary circles of NATO, primarily the United States, are applying a policy of boycott, blackmail, pressure and anti-socialist provocations in respect of this country. "Poland," W. Jaruzelski observed, "is being 'punished' for the fact that it is a socialist Poland, that it is a friend of the Soviet Union and, finally, that is protected itself against a fratricidal conflict, civil war and, perhaps, even against consequences destabilizing the situation throughout Europe. Political boycott, economic sanctions and propaganda aggression are being applied in respect of us. We will withstand this also. Nothing has come and nothing will come of the imperialists' intention in respect of Poland. We do not wish to be a pawn in someone else's game of chess."

An All-China Trade Union Federation Congress was held in October 1983. The speech of welcome of PRC Chairman Li Xiannian observed that the Chinese workers movement had entered a "new stage of development" and that its "fundamental task" is the accomplishment of the task set by the 12th CCP Congress of a fourfold increase in the gross industrial and agricultural product by the end of this century.

Li Xiannian observed that "the pernicious influence of the 'cultural revolution'" had not yet been expunged from the consciousness of the workers and employees and that their consciousness was subject to the demoralizing impact of bourgeois ideology under the conditions of implementation of the "open doors" policy. In this connection he stressed attention to the need for an intensification of ideological-political work and mastery of Marxism-Leninism and "the ideas of Mao Zedong." On the key question of the present day--that of war and peace--as is clear from Chinese press publications--Beijing adheres, as before, to the notorious theory of the "equal responsibility of the two superpowers" for the present exacerbation of the international situation.

U.S. Defense Secretary C. Weinberger arrived in Beijing on a visit at the end of September 1983. Speaking at a press conference, he declared that questions of the transfer to China of modern American technology, including so-called "dual use" technology, were at the center of the American-Chinese negotiations. C. Weinberger characterized his meetings with PRC State Council Premier Zhao Ziyang and PRC Central Military Commission Chairman Deng Xiaoping as "friendly and useful".

PRC Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian paid an official visit to the United States in October 1983. He held talks with President R. Reagan, Vice President G. Bush and Secretary of State G. Shultz and had meetings with Defense Secretary C. Weinberger and other officials.

The problem of Taiwan remains the stumbling block in American-Chinese relations. At the end of November NCNA reported that in a note to the

U.S. Government the PRC Government had protested apropos the "Future of Taiwan" resolution passed by the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Taiwan, the note points out, is an inalienable part of China's territory, and no foreign state has a right to interfere in the question of its reunification with the motherland. The passing of the "resolution" on Taiwan represents a flagrant violation of the generally accepted rules of international relations and a manifestation of hegemonism. The claim that the Taiwan issue should be settled in the spirit of laws enacted by the U.S. Congress is absurd.

At the end of November Hu Yaobang, general secretary of the CCP Central Committee, paid a visit to Tokyo, in the course of which he held talks with Japanese Prime Minister Y. Nakasone. At the end of the talks the Japanese prime minister made on his own behalf a statement for the press in which he emphasized that as a result of the talks agreement had been reached on settling all questions of bilateral relations on "a basis of mutual understanding and trust and in accordance with the UN Charter by way of negotiations, not resorting to force." The Japanese prime minister noted Hu Yaobang's agreement in principle to the creation of a "Japanese-Chinese Friendship Committee of the 21st Century," which is to be a certain center of the development of relations between the two countries in different fields.

The subject of relations with the Soviet Union was touched on in the course of the visit. As NCNA reported, speaking in Sapporo, the PRC foreign minister, who accompanied Hu Yaobang, made a statement in support of Japanese ruling circles' importunings in respect of the four islands of the South Kurile range which belong to the USSR. At the same time, however, as the local press observed, Hu Yaobang avoided an active discussion of the anti-Soviet aspects which the Japanese side had attempted to make the cornerstone of the talks.

The third round of Soviet-Chinese consultations was held 6-20 October 1983 in Beijing. L.F. Il'ichev, deputy foreign minister of the USSR and special representative of the USSR Government, and PRC Deputy Foreign Minister Qian Qichen exchanged opinions on the question of the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations. There was a conversation on 27 October between PRC Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian, member of the State Council, and L.F. Il'ichev in the course of which the Soviet side confirmed its readiness to seek mutually acceptable, realistic paths for an improvement in relations between the USSR and the PRC.

3. Economics and Politics in the Capitalist World

The final months of 1983 showed as clearly as could be that despite the optimistic forecasts of a number of Western economists, the leading capitalist countries have not succeeded in extricating themselves from the grip of economic crisis. Cyclical crises have been interwoven with structural crises. The decline in economic activity in the leading Western countries is also extending to international trade, the annual increase in the turnover of which fell from 6.5 percent in the period 1976-1979 to 1.5 percent in 1980 and to zero and negative values even in 1981-1983.

The prospects for 1984 also are far from promising. Thus according to data of the annual report of the European Communities Commission, the economic growth rate in the EEC countries will increase somewhat, reaching 1.5 percent compared with 0.5 percent in 1983. However, the increase in production will be extremely uneven. It will supposedly be 2.2 percent in Britain, 1.5 percent in Italy, 2.1 percent in the FRG and 0.4 percent in France. Although the level of inflation in 1984 is, according to some Western forecasts, to decline to 4.9 percent compared with 6.3 percent in mid-1983, the rise in prices in the leading capitalist countries will remain very substantial. It will constitute 5.8 percent in Britain, 11.5 percent in Italy, 3.2 percent in the FRG and 7.2 percent in France.

The greatest anxiety is being caused, as before, by the acceleration in the rate of growth of unemployment. As OECD experts reported, it had reached 9.2 percent in the OECD countries in the summer of 1983, which was double the level of the mid-1970's. By the end of July 1983 there were 11.6 million unemployed or 10.3 percent of the able-bodied population in the countries of the Ten.

The prospects in the employment sphere for 1984 also provide little comfort. According to OECD data, long-time unemployed (more than 12 months) will, for example, constitute approximately 40 percent in Britain (compared with 33.3 percent in 1982) and 45 percent of the unemployed in France (compared with 39.8 percent in 1982). By the end of 1984, OECD experts believe, one out of every five able-bodied persons in the countries of this organization as a whole will be unemployed, while in France this level will reach 27.1 percent.

The economic disorders are making their mark on multilateral and bilateral meetings of leaders of the capitalist powers. The EEC countries have entered a new stage of internal disagreements. A special session of the EEC Ministerial Council at foreign, finance and agriculture minister level at the end of September ended in complete failure. Its participants failed to reach agreement on fixing the Community's agricultural budget and on the amount of the EEC countries' financial contributions. As in the course of the first fruitless round of negotiations in August, heated arguments surrounded Britain's payments to the EEC budget. As is known, Britain is advocating a reduction in its contribution and reduced agricultural subsidies, the principle beneficiary of which are the farmers of France and certain other West European countries. British Foreign Secretary G. Howe again unequivocally made it understood to the partners that in no event would London agree to an increase in its contributions to the treasury of the Ten. The latest EEC Ministerial Council session at agriculture minister level also ended on 15 November virtually fruitlessly.

Talks between British Prime Minister M. Thatcher and French President F. Mitterrand were held at the end of October in London in an atmosphere of profound disagreements on questions of agricultural and budget policy. Addressing a press conference at the end of the meeting, M. Thatcher acknowledged that the problems dividing Britain and France in this sphere "are easier to analyze than to solve." "Our interests," the French president specified, for his part, "are different and often opposite even."

Another exacerbation of the crisis has occurred in the metallurgical industry of the Common Market countries. As stated in mid-November at a meeting of the European Communities Commission, steel producers in the Ten had engaged in a mass violation of the quotas for metal production which had been imposed within the framework of the program for the reorganization of West European metallurgy being implemented by the Community. This immediately led to an increase in the price of metal and aggravated the competitive struggle. In order to prevent chaos in this sphere the European Communities Commission announced the imposition of new limitations. The difficult problems of the functioning of the Common Market--from the position in metallurgical industry through the forthcoming entry into the EEC of Spain and Portugal--were discussed at a regular EEC Foreign Ministerial Council session which ended on 18 October in Luxembourg. The disagreements on this occasion also prevented the ministers arriving at a uniform opinion on a whole number of questions on the agenda. But on one thing the Ten did display unanimity in Luxembourg. This was the intensifying competitive struggle of the EEC countries with the United States and Japan. The participants in the session agreed that the Community should continue to seek from the United States compensation for the restrictions imposed several months back on West European steel imports. However, Washington is continuing to refuse to satisfy the demands of the West Europeans hurt by its actions. The ministers of the Ten were even more emphatic in their condemnation of Japan's trade-economic policy. They recommended the adoption of effective measures to get from Tokyo voluntary limitations on Japan's exports to West Europe.

A 5-day visit to Japan at the end of October by U.S. Trade Negotiator W. Brock took place in an atmosphere of sharp disagreements. He requested of the Japanese side the "settlement of trade-economic problems in the course of the next few months." With regard for the fact that the United States' trade deficit with Japan could amount to \$30 billion in 1984, W. Brock sought the adoption of emergency measures aimed at reducing the tremendous imbalance in bilateral trade, including the removal of barriers in the way of American products in Japan and the "voluntary limitation" of Japanese exports to the United States and an expansion of the purchases of costly American space technology and other industrial equipment. Together with this Washington's representative demanded the speediest "liberalization" of Japan's agricultural market: "This process must be settled no later than by the end of March next year (1984--Author)," he declared.

The seriousness of the economic discord between Japan and the United States could not be concealed by the propaganda show into which U.S. President R. Reagan's November visit to Japan developed. The trade imbalance between the two countries could be an important problem in the election struggle both in the United States and Japan.

The United States continues to experience serious economic and social difficulties. The distinctiveness of the moment is that in the United States, despite somewhat of a recovery in economic conditions, the crisis level of unemployment continues and the situation of the farmers and also the country's nonwhite population is deteriorating sharply. At the same time, according to estimates of specialists of the Brookings Institution, whereas in the

crisis year of 1975 some 78 percent of redundant persons were receiving benefits, currently only 45 percent are receiving such. In 1982 alone, according to official data, the number of persons below the poverty line increased by 2.6 million and constitutes approximately 35 million persons or 15 percent of the country's population--the highest level in the past 17 years.

The state of the U.S. economy, the policy of the Republican administration, the deterioration in the position of the working people--these topics occupied a central place at the 15th congress of the trade union association AFL-CIO, which has 13.8 million members, 3-6 October in Hollywood. The congress revealed working people's profound dissatisfaction with their position and was guided by condemnation of the reactionary, antipopular domestic policy of the R. Reagan administration, with which even the rightwing leadership of the federation was compelled to reckon. In a resolution entitled "The National Economy" the congress declared: the sufferings which working people are experiencing as a result of the loss of jobs, the reduction in earnings and unfair taxes "are the result of the catastrophic economic policy of the Reagan administration, a policy which has caused the biggest crisis since the times of the Great Depression of the 1930's...."

R. Reagan's domestic and foreign policy were sharply criticized by the participants in the 23d national congress of the Communist Party of the United States, which ended on 14 November. The delegates to the party forum unanimously approved the report of G. Hall, general secretary of the Communist Party, and also the "Basic Document," as the political resolution of the congress, which points out that the protest movement against R. Reagan's policy is growing and the process of the radicalization of the masses is increasing in the United States.

The final months of the year revealed growing strain in Britain's domestic political life. In the fall of 1983 over 3 million Britons were without a permanent job--157,000 more than in April of the same year. The fate of these casualties of the Tories' economic policy by no means fits into the radiant picture which Chancellor of the Exchequer N. Lawson has outlined, talking about "a continuous and harmonious process of Britain's recovery." Despite the election promises, the Conservatives not only have not been able to solve but have considerably complicated the most acute problem--that of mass unemployment. And 1984 promises an even more disheartening picture. According to an IMF forecast, unemployment in the country will grow from 12.9 percent in 1983 to 13.1 percent.

Assembling after the summer recess, the M. Thatcher government again demonstrated that it does not intend to halt the offensive against the working people's living standard. At the suggestion of N. Lawson it was resolved to set an extremely low--3-percent--limit on wage increases in the public sector. According to the minister, a more appreciable wage increase "would inevitably lead to new redundancies." However, the "lack of funds" is by no means reflected in the military budget, which will again rise by at least 9 percent, and also in police pay, which, following a decision of the Tory government, increases automatically.

The working people's profound disquiet at the Conservatives' policy determined the course of the debates at the conferences of the opposition parties and the British Trades Union Congress. The 115th TUC Congress was held in Blackpool in the first 10 days of September, and the Labor Party's annual conference ended at the start of October in Brighton. A bitter struggle developed at the trade unionists' congress. So-called moderates in the TUC leadership called on the trade unions to abandon the class struggle and switch to cooperation with the Tory government inasmuch as, they said, it was in power for a long time. The left wing of the TUC rebuffed this line. And although the resolutions on sociopolitical issues passed by the congress reflected both viewpoints, the discussion showed that the trade unions as a whole are prepared to struggle more assertively against both the domestic and foreign policy of the Tories. The participants in the conference in Brighton and the congress in Blackpool confirmed their loyalty to the basic foreign policy precepts of the Labor program: against the deployment of cruise missiles in Britain and against rearmament of the British submarine fleet with the Trident 2 missile system. They supported the idea of a nuclear freeze and advocated consideration of Britain's "independent containment forces" in the overall balance of nuclear arms in Europe and the liquidation of American nuclear bases on British soil.

The 33d congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain ended in mid-November. Emphatic condemnation of the aggressive, militarist policy of the U.S. Administration was heard in the speeches of its participants. Our party, congress delegate M. Costello said, must strengthen its roots in the working class for only this class, organized to fight for its interests, can head the broad alliance of popular forces in the name of progress and socialism.

The 100th annual British Conservative Party conference was held in Blackpool in October. It confirmed the Tories' well-known positions on the problems of nuclear arms in Europe and their approach to disarmament issues. As before, the policy of M. Thatcher's cabinet was fully oriented toward the U.S. position in these aspects.

As the speeches of the prime minister and the chancellor and also the economic debate showed, the cabinet does not intend making any changes to its economic policy. A reduction in public spending at the expense of appropriations to the nationalized sectors of industry and social programs and denationalization remain the Tories' basic economic strategy. These measures are being accompanied by an offensive against trade union rights and the imposition of new anti-union laws. At the same time the intensifying problem of unemployment and its influence on the minds and mood of the electorate could not have failed to have caused anxiety in the Conservative Camp. The conference showed that there is no firm unity in the Tory ranks in respect of the measures proposed by the government.

The political fall in the FRG passed under the sign of the discontent of the country's population with the policy of the ruling coalition. A manifestation thereof were the results of the elections to the Bremen and Hessen Landtags. In Bremen the SPD collected more than half the votes, winning 58 seats out of a hundred--6 more than before. The Social Democrats also remained in power in Hessen, where they now have 51 of the 110 parliamentary

seats, 2 more than previously. But inasmuch as the Social Democrats lack an absolute majority in the Hessen Landtag, they count on the support of the Greens, which are represented in both Landtags. The CDU lost 6.2 percent of the vote in Hessen and, correspondingly, 8 seats in parliament. A certain part of the CDU electorate voted for the FDP. Having obtained these "loan votes," the Liberals sent its deputies to the Land parliament on this occasion. They failed completely in Bremen, losing more than half the voters.

W. Wahlmann, lord mayor of Frankfurt-am-Main and principal CDU candidate in Hessen, explained his party's failure by the fact that the economic "upturn" promised by the Bonn government had not arrived. Unemployment remains at an extraordinarily high level--2.2 million. Production is being wound down in such sectors of industry as metallurgy and shipbuilding. The fact that the majority of the FRG population rejects the policy of deployment of the American missiles adopted by the government was also undoubtedly reflected in the election results.

However, Bonn's ruling circles continue to follow the lead of Washington's policy. A white paper on security prepared by the Defense Ministry with the blessing of the FRG Government was an "oath of allegiance" to this dangerous policy. Only the new American missiles and "nuclear deterrence" can, as the authors of the paper claim, save the West. "Model of the one-sidedness of Bonn's official policy" was how a representative of the Coordinating Committee of the West German peace movement described this "treatise".

The question of new American nuclear missiles in Europe has had a decisive impact on the mood in the ranks of the SPD--the country's most populous political party. At the end of November 1983 a special congress of this party in Cologne passed by an overwhelming majority (383 out of 400) a resolution which emphasized that "the SPD rejects the deployment of new American medium-range systems on the soil of the Federal Republic."

Following the miscalculations of preceding years, when the SPD leadership participated actively in imposing NATO's notorious "twin decision" on the country, a protest movement has begun to grow among West German Social Democrats against the country's conversion into a nuclear base of Washington. The profound demarcation in views on the missile question has increased among members of the party, in its leadership included. The majority demanded a "no" to the NATO "rearmament". A minority, however, to which mainly a small group on the SPD Board headed by former Federal Chancellor H. Schmidt, deputy chairman of the party, belonged, attempted to justify the adventurist plans of the United States and NATO. Their efforts at the congress were in vain. At the same time, summing up the special SPD congress, it has to be noted that the inconsistency inherent in social democracy was reflected at it.

A new exacerbation of the struggle between the ruling leftwing majority and the rightwing opposition has been discerned in France. The main struggle has developed around socioeconomic problems, which are the most vulnerable spot in the policy of the F. Mauroy cabinet and the French Socialist Party [PSF]. Their unsolved nature is a source of serious public dissatisfaction and the decline in the government's popularity.

The negative consequences of the government's "recovery" plan (the "Delors Plan," named after its author--the minister of economy and finance) are being felt increasingly strongly. The recession has deepened. The concessions to the employers in the hope of prompting them to invest money in France remain as yet unanswered. According to data of the National Institute of Statistics and Economic Research, Fr240 billion were transferred to Swiss banks illegally in 1982. As a result there is a weakening of the country's industrial potential in the face of powerful competitors--the United States, the FRG and Japan. The publicized slight reduction in the foreign trade deficit in the first half of 1983 was basically the result of a reduction in business activity and not economic recovery.

The "tough policy" has led to a reduction in the population's purchasing power and increased taxes. The government puts down to its credit the "stabilization" of unemployment at the 2 million level, but calculations show that by the end of 1983 even the number of unemployed had risen by 200,000, while in 1984 some 2.5 million French will be "superfluous".

A PSF congress was held 28-30 October in Bourg-en-Bresse. Touching on the domestic situation in the country, L. Jospin, first secretary of the PSF, noted particularly that, despite the negative consequences of the world economic crisis and sabotage and pressure on the part of the forces of the right, the government of the left majority had managed to achieve certain positive results in the socioeconomic sphere and in the reform and decentralization of the civil service. At the same time, however, he was forced to acknowledge that the policy of "strict economies" adopted in the spring of 1983 is causing certain dissatisfaction. Some of the electorate which voted for the forces of the left in 1981, the speaker declared, have turned away from the socialists.

The "strict economies" policy was criticized at the congress by a number of representatives of the left wing of the PSF, who emphasized that the policy being pursued is incapable of solving the urgent socioeconomic problems, but rather, on the contrary, is exacerbating the contradictions and deepening the crisis. According to official data, the economic growth rate in 1984 will not exceed 0.5 percent. Employment remains the most acute social problem. However, it was not a question at the PSF congress of ways to reduce unemployment but of its "stabilization". J.-P Chevenement, a prominent figure on the left wing of the party, declared that becoming reconciled to the present level of unemployment means being reconciled to defeat at the 1986 parliamentary elections. What is the way out? The congress provided no answer to this question.

The foreign policy part of the congress' resolution expressed support for the government's negative attitude toward consideration of French nuclear forces in the balance of these arms in Europe and also supported its position in favor of realization of the American plans for the nuclear "rearmament" of the NATO forces. Simultaneously the resolution pointed to appreciable differences with the United States, particularly in connection with its "adventurist policy in Central America and the Caribbean."

A cabinet headed for the first time since the war by a socialist--B. Craxi, political secretary of the Italian Socialist Party [PSI]--has been functioning in Italy for 6 months. The new government began its activity in an atmosphere of a sharp deterioration in the country's economic position. The budget deficit had approached 90 trillion lira. Many economists believe that it has already reached 15.6 percent of Italy's GNP, that is, a record for an industrially developed country. The continuing rise in the dollar's exchange rate is contributing to this. As C. Serroni, deputy general director of the Confederation of Industry, declared, "such an expensive dollar will help aggravate our trade budget even more because we pay for a considerable proportion of our imports with American money." Unemployment in the country, according to official data, constitutes 9.2 percent of the able-bodied population, however, in the opinion of a number of Italian economists and EEC specialists, it is in fact approaching 11 percent, even if the existence of a colossal "black," underground economy is taken into consideration.

The assumption by a socialist of the position of chairman of Italy's Council of Ministers has not justified the hopes of those who linked with this a considerable renewal of course, particularly in the sphere of economic policy and constitutional reform. The government program of B. Craxi, the basis of which was virtually the Christian Democratic Party election platform, which the socialists had once correctly called "rightwing," has little in common with the original PSI program. The socialists, for example, capitulated in the face of the Christian Democrats' demand that the main emphasis be put on combating inflation in order to bring it down within a year to at least 9 percent, which threatens to increase the army of unemployed by 800,000-900,000.

This policy is encountering opposition on the part of the PCI and is sharply criticized by the trade unions and some representatives of parties which are a part of the ruling coalition even. Broad strata of the Italian public are particularly worried by the government's intention to shift the burdens of the economic crisis onto the shoulders of the working people and its aspiration to continue to obediently follow the lead of the aggressive policy of Washington, which is turning Italy into America's nuclear hostage.

A serious domestic policy crisis has erupted in Japan. It was caused by the unwillingness of former prime minister K. Tanaka to give up his seat after he was sentenced on 12 October by a Tokyo court to 4 years imprisonment for accepting a 500-million bribe from the Lockheed company. However, the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party (LDP) blocked an opposition resolution demanding that the country's former prime minister be deprived of his parliamentary inviolability. As a sign of protest against the LDP's position the opposition parties began boycotting parliament and paralyzed its activity. Under these conditions Y. Nakasone decided to dissolve the lower house of parliament and hold early elections.

On the threshold of the elections the Y. Nakasone cabinet, endeavoring to win the electorate to its side, decided on a certain lowering of taxes. The actions of the Liberal-Democrats caused an explosion of anger among the opposition parties. They all issued protest statements accusing the LDP of

an endeavor to push through a "purely cosmetic" tax reduction for propaganda purposes, whereas such an important issue requires discussion in parliament with the participation of all political forces.

4. In the Struggle for Peace and Progress

The consequences of the implementation of the NATO decision to deploy American first-strike nuclear weapons in Europe go beyond the European continent. "All peoples and each inhabitant of our planet must be aware of the menacing danger," Yu. V. Andropov emphasized. Aware in order to unite their efforts in the struggle for their own existence."

The peoples of the young emergent states emphatically oppose all steps which bring a nuclear catastrophe closer. This was confirmed once again by the Seventh Conference of Heads of State and Government of Nonaligned Countries in Delhi, which declared the struggle in defense of peace and detente and for a limitation of the arms race the principal tasks of the nonaligned countries' foreign policy. Profound concern at the deployment of new American missiles on the territory of West European countries was expressed, in particular, by the Indian Government, the leader of the nonaligned movement, to FRG Chancellor H. Kohl, who visited Delhi at the start of November 1983.

The peoples of the developing world realize that the future of all mankind is now at stake. The American Pershings and cruise deployed in Europe threaten not only the socialist community countries. The oil regions of North Africa and the Persian Gulf are within their range. At the same time, however, the developing states are displaying an understanding of the retaliatory measures of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to strengthen their security. These steps, the TIMES OF INDIA emphasized, were taken in connection with the increased attempts of the United States and a number of its NATO allies to upset the military-strategic balance and achieve military superiority over the Warsaw Pact organization.

The new round of the nuclear race also means the senseless expenditure of gigantic material resources and will lie as a heavy burden on the world economy, which will inevitably be reflected in the already unfavorable economic situation of the overwhelming majority of states of the developing world.

For more than 10 years the emergent countries have been struggling for the reorganization of international economic relations on a democratic basis, including the right to choose development paths independently, sovereignty over natural resources and economic activity, equality and noninterference in internal affairs, an increase in financial assistance, primarily official, it being raised to 1 percent of GNP of the developed countries and so forth.

For their part, the imperialist powers are endeavoring not only to consolidate but also intensify the young states' unequal position in the economic system of capitalism and soften the blows of the crisis at their expense. They are accelerating direct penetration of the economy of this group of countries for the purpose of tying them to themselves ever more tightly by

way of financial dependence. As a result the developing countries' foreign debt to the West by the start of 1983 was in excess of the astronomical sum of \$750 billion. According to data of American Express, since 1978 the developing countries have received foreign loans totaling \$140 billion, but in this same period have paid out \$126 billion in the form of payments for the loans and the interest thereon. The remaining \$14 billion are manifestly insufficient for satisfying even the most urgent economic needs.

The 38th annual session of the two biggest international credit organizations--the IMF and the World Bank--for which delegates and observers from 146 countries had assembled, was held at the end of September 1983 in Washington. The session was conducted in an exceptionally strained atmosphere. Latin American states account for almost half of the foreign countries' foreign debt--over \$300 billion--while the loans to just five countries of this continent are in excess of 150 percent of the capital of the United States' biggest private banks. The international credit organizations were in need of funds, and the U.S. Congress was being slow to allocate \$8.4 billion as the United States' regular contribution to the IMF. Nor were the remaining leading capitalist countries in any hurry.

Ultimately a currency-finance crisis in the two biggest Latin American countries (Argentina and Brazil) was averted, but the negotiations on new loans, particularly to Nigeria for a sum of \$2 billion (foreign debt is \$14 billion) and other countries were suspended. The West's industrial states agreed not to increase the fund's loans to the developing countries and to accompany them with even stricter "regime of economy" terms. Brazil was forced, for example, to adopt a number of Draconian measures, including a reduction in the wages of the majority of categories of working people. Argentina undertook to cut its budget deficit by two-thirds, although unemployment in the country in the past 2 years had tripled.

In September Mexican President M. de la Madrid delivered the annual report on the government's activity, in which he dwelt on the first steps to implement the plan of the country's development in 1983-1988. The program of the reorganization and recovery of the national economy elaborated within its framework provides for a struggle against the rise in inflation, stabilization of the Mexican peso in relation to the U.S. dollars, a gradual increase in employment, provision of the poorest and middle strata of the population with basic food products at fixed prices and growth of the GNP. The country's budget for 1983, the president reported, was drawn up "on the basis of strict demands with regard for only the most essential and justified expenditure." An increase in taxes from the part of the population with high incomes and an increase in the tax (from 10 to 15-20 percent) on imports of luxury items were envisaged. In tackling the serious problems which Mexico is encountering, M. de la Madrid declared, the government intends to rely primarily on the public sector of the economy.

The "bastions of democracy and civil liberties"--the dictatorial regimes in South America--have been shaken. A powerful movement of the people's masses against Pinochet arose in Chile. National protests days were held throughout the country. The consolidation of the democratic opposition is

under way. In particular, the Chilean Communist Party and a faction of the Socialist Party formed the Popular Democratic Movement (PDM). The staging of national protest days represents a qualitatively higher level of the people's unity in the struggle, a PDM appeal says, "and reflects the resolve of a majority of the people and all their democratic forces to oust the present regime and direct the country along the path of building a real renewed democracy."

A new stage in Argentina's political life has begun. Under the pressure of the people's masses the military junta, which had ruled the country since 1976, was forced to consent to hold general elections at the end of October in the course of which the Radical Civic Union (essentially social democrats) gained victory over the Justicialist Party (former Peronists). The Radical Civic Union candidate, R. Alfonsin, became president of the country. A statement of the Argentine Communist Party Central Committee Political Commission notes that as a result of the elections prospects of development along a democratic path are open to the country.

American imperialism is reacting to the peoples' historically conditioned search for new paths of development with unconcealed power pressure and direct armed aggression. It has resolved to teach the insurgents in El Salvador, independent Nicaragua and all who do not accept the *pax Americana* an "object lesson". The latest casualty of direct U.S. intervention was Grenada, an island state in the South Caribbean with a population of little more than 110,000.

Approximately 5 years ago a revolution of an anti-imperialist nature was victorious on Grenada. A people's revolutionary government headed by M. Bishop, the leader of the New Jewel Movement, which was subsequently admitted to the Socialist International, took office. According to the Western press, M. Bishop's government had scored certain successes in the sphere of the economy: in 3 years unemployment had been cut from 49 to 14 percent, the economic growth rate in 1982 was 5.5 percent and there was a marked rise in the population's living standard. While remaining a member of the Commonwealth, Grenada established diplomatic and trade relations with the Soviet Union, Cuba and other socialist countries and became an active participant in the nonaligned movement. The republic maintained close relations with many developing countries and leading capitalist states.

Throughout free Grenada's existence the United States was unceasing in its hostile acts against it: it imposed an economic blockade of the young republic, prevented other countries and international finance organizations granting it loans and credit and fanned a slanderous propaganda campaign.

The explanations which President R. Reagan and other U.S. Administration figures gave for the United States' unprovoked invasion of Grenada do not withstand criticism. Nothing threatened the life, security and interests of American citizens on the island--this was acknowledged repeatedly by White House representatives even. The arguments concerning the "Soviet-Cuban military base" on the island were an utter absurdity. The disagreements, on the other hand, in the leadership of the New Jewel Movement, which brought about armed clashes, as a result of which M. Bishop and certain leading figures of the country died, are a purely internal matter for Grenada and its people.

The bandit attack on Grenada evoked the anger and indignation of all peoples of the world. "...The Soviet Union," the TASS Statement said, "emphatically condemns the U.S. aggression against Grenada and brands it a crime against peace and mankind.... The aggression against the people of Grenada must end, and the occupiers must clear out of this independent state forthwith."

The United States' criminal act caused a storm of protests and indignation in the developing world. The nonaligned countries' Coordinating Bureau, which assembled in New York, emphatically condemned the aggression and demanded the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from Grenada. A real offensive against the United States developed, as AP reported, at the November session of the OAS General Assembly. The invasion of Grenada, which led to a serious deterioration in the atmosphere throughout the Latin American region, was sharply criticized by the foreign ministers of Mexico, Surinam, Brazil, Panama, Nicaragua, Peru and even Uruguay and Guatemala, who usually support the United States unreservedly. The participants in the session advocated the conversion of the Caribbean into a zone of peace and called on all states on the continent "to refrain from any actions which could lead to a further increase intension in the region." Only the United States, the six East Caribbean countries which took part in the imperialist action, the dictatorial regimes of El Salvador and Honduras, Zionist Israel and racist South Africa opposed the demand in the United Nations for an immediate halt to the aggression and the withdrawal of foreign forces from Grenadan territory without delay.

The true purposes of the intervention go beyond Grenada and the Caribbean. U.S. reactionary militarist circles are endeavoring to prevent the strengthening of the national independence and socioeconomic and democratic transformations in countries of the developing world. The R. Reagan administration, the Japanese ASAHI writes, is demonstrating "the United States' resolve and readiness for armed intervention in the region for the purpose of thereby preventing the appearance of new revolutionary regimes in Central and South America." "Today Grenada, tomorrow it could be another country," F. Salazar, chairman of the OAS Permanent Council and Bolivia's representative, warned. Political observers of the Western press are inclined to regard the attack on Grenada as a "general rehearsal" prior to the invasion of Nicaragua or El Salvador, which the R. Reagan administration has included in the United States' so-called "security zone".

In engaging in the aggression against Grenada U.S. militarist circles counted on intimidating the freedom-loving peoples of the world, primarily those of Latin America, and weakening their resolve to resist the neocolonialist policy of imperialism and their aspiration to national independence and socioeconomic transformations. However, the result was entirely different. In the opinion of the British THE GUARDIAN, "the invasion of Grenada has led to the most significant decline in American political prestige in Central America in recent years." The French LE MONDE believes that in Latin America the capture of Grenada could be seen as "new proof of the impossibility of solving questions with Washington by way of negotiations." "As far as Nicaragua is concerned, 'Operation Grenada' merely aggravates anti-American

and nationalist sentiments and does not weaken but, on the contrary, strengthens the Sandinist government," the paper writes.

The reaction of the world community to the American aggression is unequivocal: condemnation of the intervention. In a resolution on Central America passed without a vote the UN General Assembly confirmed the right of all countries of the region to live in peace and decide their fate without foreign interference. It emphasizes that respect for the sovereignty and independence of all states is an important condition of ensuring security and peaceful coexistence. Simultaneously the UN General Assembly expressed decisive support for the activity of the Contradora group, calling on it to continue the efforts to preserve peace.

The Near East situation had become more dangerous than ever in the fall of 1983. The main reason for this is the political course and practical actions of the present U.S. Administration. Washington has switched to direct, including armed, interference in the affairs of the Arab states and peoples. Another means of U.S. neocolonialist policy in the region is the kindling of international and religious conflicts: it was precisely the intercommunal clashes which Washington took advantage of in order to ensconce itself on Lebanese territory as part of the "multinational force" (American, French, British and Italian troops).

Lebanon greeted the 40th anniversary of its independence under the difficult conditions of the continuing American-Israeli aggression: more than 30 U.S. warships are cruising off its shores, and the south of the country--roughly one-third of the territory, with a population of more than 500,000--is occupied by the Israeli aggressor, which is carrying out from there bombing raids against cities and population centers where formations of Lebanon's national-patriotic forces and the Syrian military contingent are located.

Exacerbating an already tense situation, the R. Reagan administration moved toward even closer cooperation with Tel Aviv, deciding to raise American-Israeli strategic cooperation to a new level. According to the arrangements arrived at in the course of Israeli Prime Minister Y. Shamir's visit to Washington at the end of November 1983, a joint military-political committee of the two countries is being set up to formulate specific measures to expand this cooperation in the region, including military planning, the staging of maneuvers and the stockpiling of American military equipment and personal gear on Israeli territory. The volume of American military-economic aid to Israel is also being broadened considerably. The further strengthening of the "strategic alliance" between Washington and Tel Aviv threatens the Near East with a new exacerbation of tension and a pushing back of the prospects of a just peaceful settlement of the problems of this region.

The aggressive policy of Washington and Tel Aviv in respect of Lebanon, a Soviet-Syrian communique on the results of the visit to Moscow in November of A.H. Khaddam, member of the Ba'th Party leadership, deputy chairman of the Syrian Council of Ministers and foreign minister, said, "is the main obstacle

in the way of the achievement of an intra-Lebanon settlement based on national consent. Such a settlement, which should signify preservation of the unity, territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty of Lebanon, is possible only on condition of the immediate and unconditional withdrawal from this country of the Israeli and NATO armed forces." The sides were of the unanimous opinion, the document continues, that it is essential to counterpose to the dangerous development of recent events in this part of the world and the encroachments of American imperialism and Israel on the Arab's national rights the concerted policy of the Arab states and all national-patriotic forces of the Arab world.

The bloody armed clashes between feuding detachments of the Fatah Palestinian organization in the north of Lebanon resumed against the background of the escalation of the interventionist operations. The senseless and unnatural fratricidal struggle between Palestinians is causing profound concern in the Soviet Union. On 23 November A.A. Gromyko received in Moscow a PLO delegation headed by F. Kaddoumi, leader of the PLO Executive Committee's Political Department. It was emphasized in the course of the conversation from the Soviet side that, regardless of the causes of the clash between Palestinians, they are undermining the PLO's positions, gained in long and difficult struggle, and are to the benefit only of the United States and Israel, which aspire to "close" the Palestinian issue altogether, disunite the Arabs and force them to capitulate before the aggressor. The Soviet Union believes it essential that everyone who has the opportunity for this contribute to surmounting the discord and restoring unity in the ranks of the liberation movement of the Arab people of Palestine. "All disagreements in the Palestinian ranks can and must be overcome by political means," A.A. Gromyko emphasized. The PLO must remain an anti-imperialist factor.

A new outbreak of military operations occurred in October 1983 on the Iran-Iraq front. Iranian troops went onto the offensive in the region of the Iraqi border town of Panjwin--160 kilometers from the major oil-producing center of Kirkuk. The fighting was mainly, however, as before, of a positional nature, and the line of the front ran mainly along the border between the two countries.

Considerable efforts have been made to end this war, which has lasted more than 3 years. The capitals of both states have been visited by representatives of the United Nations, the Islamic Conference Organization, the nonaligned movement and others. The Security Council adopted a resolution proposing the continuation of the UN secretary general's mediation efforts and calling for an immediate halt to all military operations in the Persian Gulf. Baghdad expressed its consent to abide by the UN appeal. Teheran, for its part, rejected the resolution, although it gave the assurance that it continued to have full confidence in the UN secretary general's representative.

Only from the viewpoint of the interests of American imperialism is the bloody conflict between Iran and Iraq of any sense--it seriously complicates the situation in the Near and Middle East and is a convenient pretext for direct interference in the affairs of countries of the region. And the United States does not even attempt to conceal this. The countries of the Persian Gulf, Adm G. Evans, commander U.S. Naval Forces in the Near East, for example,

declared, "should consent to international (that is, American--ed.) intervention for the defense of the Gulf." Preparing this action, Washington is kindling passions and shipping to Iran American military equipment costing hundreds of millions of dollars, TIME magazine testifies, although relations between the United States and Iran are far from friendly.

The Soviet Union is firmly convinced of the need for the speediest end to the armed conflict between Iran and Iraq and the settlement of contentious issues by political means, at the negotiating table. The interests of further struggle against the intrigues of imperialism and Zionism and for a just and lasting peace in the Near East insistently demand, as emphasized at the talks on 21 November in Moscow between A.A. Gromyko and T. Aziz, member of the Revolutionary Command Council, deputy prime minister and foreign minister of Iraq, the solidarity and concerted action of the Arab states and all national-patriotic forces of the Arab world.

Imperialism is extremely interested in an exacerbation of tension and the kindling of conflicts in various parts of the world and increased mistrust and hostility between states and peoples. The Cyprus events should be viewed from precisely this angle.

On 15 November in the northern part of Cyprus, which has for approximately 10 years been under foreign military occupation, the leadership of the Turkish community of the island announced the creation of a so-called "independent state," which was immediately recognized by Turkey. This act of separation leads to the division of the state of Cyprus, is contrary to repeated decisions of the UN General Assembly and the Security Council and undermines the bases for a just political settlement with due regard for the legitimate interests of both the Greek and Turkish communities. The proclamation of the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus" is leading to a dangerous exacerbation of the situation on the island and around it and has created one more center of tension in the East Mediterranean which is in dangerous proximity to Lebanon and the Near East as a whole. The Western press is raising the question of the possibility of turning Cyprus into a new American military base.

In the resolution that was passed (the Pakistan representative voted against) the Security Council described the division of Cyprus as an unlawful act, demanded that it be annulled and called on all countries "not to recognize any Cypriot state other than the Republic of Cyprus." The USSR has followed the development of events on Cyprus with great attention. "Leading circles of the Soviet Union believe," a TASS statement emphasized, "that in the interests of the Cypriot people themselves and in the interests of strengthening peace and tranquillity throughout this region the Turkish Cypriot leadership's rescindment of its decision and the speediest resumption of constructive intercommunal talks with the mediation of the UN secretary general in accordance with UN decisions for the purpose of achieving a lasting and just settlement on the island are essential."

Tension in the south of Africa continues. With Washington's support the racist rulers of South Africa are not only financing and arming UNITA

splittist bands in Angola, the "National Resistance Movement" in Mozambique, the "Lesotho Liberation Army" and such but are themselves perpetrating criminal acts in the course of an undeclared war against neighboring independent states--the invasion of regular forces, bandit raids, the barbaric bombing of cities and villages and sabotage. At the end of October a special "commando" detachment dispatched by Pretoria broke into an apartment house in the center of Maputo, the capital of Mozambique. They killed people and caused material damage.

South Africa is sabotaging the search for a peaceful settlement of southern African problems, including the Namibian problem. And the "Contact Group" of five Western powers, primarily the policy pursued by the United States, is contributing to this. Thus the R. Reagan administration supports the demand for "linkage" of the question of the decolonization of Namibia with the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and is attempting to implement a "settlement" according to its own scenario. Endeavoring to impart a semblance of "legitimacy" to the occupation, the South African regime is preparing to hand over power in Namibia to its puppets and is concocting the idea of the creation of a so-called "multinational force" and its deployment in Angola in exchange for the Cuban military contingent there. Angola has rejected this idea as the latest provocation and subversive maneuver aimed at against the People's Republic of Angola.

In mid-November 1983 in the Zambian capital of Lusaka the leaders of the "frontline" states--Angola, Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Tanzania--and also the leaders of South Africa's African National Congress and SWAPO discussed the Namibian problem and the tense situation in the south of the continent. The independent countries of Southern Africa, the joint communique notes, emphatically condemn the endeavor of South Africa and the "Contact Group" to drag out in every possible way a solution of the question of granting the Namibian people independence. The attempts to "link" a solution of this problem with the withdrawal from Angola of the Cuban internationalists, who are in Angola at the request of its legitimate government, are aimed primarily at a continuation of the racists' illegal occupation of Namibian territory. Only the fulfillment of Security Council Resolution 435 may be the genuine basis of a peaceful settlement of the problem.

Attempting to turn back historical progress, neocolonialism is gambling on the direct use of force. The peoples of the developing countries are fully resolved to defend their inalienable right to peaceful and independent socioeconomic development and protect themselves against the encroachments of reactionary circles of imperialism, primarily American.

In Europe and Central America, in Africa and the Near East imperialism has ventured on a dangerous aggravation of the situation. Military preparations are under way on a scale which is unprecedented for peacetime. Troop exercises have been conducted which are difficult to distinguish from real combat operations. Existing military-political alliances have been activated and new ones have been knocked together. Militarist hysteria has been ignited. Mankind has been pushed to the dangerous brink of war.

However, people have not lost sense and states with different social systems are still capable of finding a common language at the negotiating table. Testimony to this are the results of the Madrid meeting of representatives of the states which participated in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Primarily the efforts of the USSR and the other socialist countries contributed to the successful outcome of the meeting. A positive contribution was made by the group of neutral and nonaligned countries. As a result of 3 years of work, despite all the difficulties and obstacles caused by the opponents of detente, an all-embracing summary document was drawn up. In it the participants in the Helsinki process solemnly stated their readiness to expand co-operation in a broad sphere of interstate exchange and contacts between people. The decision on the convening on 17 January 1984 in Stockholm of a conference on measures to strengthen trust and security and for disarmament in Europe imparts particular weight to the results of the meeting. Mankind's will to peace is unbroken, and disarmament is a practicable goal.

A significant step toward averting the nuclear threat could be the achievement of a just agreement between the USSR and the United States on the Geneva talks on limiting and reducing strategic arms. For this purpose the Soviet Union put forward a specific, realistic proposal which infringes no one's interests: a stage-by-stage reduction by 1990 of the total number of strategic delivery systems by more than one-fourth, which would lead to the removal from the arsenals of both sides of more than 1,000 such weapons. The USSR also proposes the reduction to equal levels of the number of nuclear warheads. And, furthermore--and this is of fundamental importance--at all stages of the reductions the USSR and the United States would remain in an equal position from the viewpoint of ensuring their security, and equality between them in the strategic sphere would be maintained. This is where the Soviet proposal differs from the American plan, which provides for a procedure of strategic weapon reductions which is discriminatory in respect of the USSR, which would lead to a disturbance of the balance of forces to the detriment of the USSR.

While attaching priority significance to nuclear disarmament measures the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries insistently and constantly advocate also a reduction in conventional arms and the conclusion of treaties and agreements which would put an end to the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons, provide for the destruction of stockpiles thereof and ban the development and creation of new types and systems of weapons of mass annihilation.

The Soviet Union is emphatically opposed to the militarization of space. At the UN General Assembly 38th Session in the fall of 1983 the USSR proposed the conclusion of a treaty banning the use of force in outer space and from space in relation to the Earth. This would have made states safe from attacks from space, and space objects from the use of force against them.

The USSR declared that it is ready to consent to a radical solution of anti-satellite weapons--to agree on a renunciation of the testing of all such

systems, banning the creation of new and liquidating the sides' available antisatellite systems and also banning the testing and use for military, including antisatellite, purposes of manned spacecraft. Simultaneously the Soviet leadership adopted a decision of exceptional importance: the Soviet Union undertook not to be the first to put any types of antisatellite weapon in outer space. In other words, it imposed a unilateral moratorium on such launches for the whole time that other states, including the United States, refrain from putting any kind of antisatellite weapons in space.

Tremendous, fundamental importance for the future of mankind is attached to the Soviet Union's proposal to emphatically, unreservedly and for all time condemn nuclear war as a most monstrous crime against the peoples. The development, promotion, dissemination and propaganda of political and military doctrines and concepts designed to substantiate the "legitimacy" of first use of nuclear weapons and the "permissibility" of unleashing a nuclear war would also be condemned here. The General Assembly adopted this Soviet proposal by majority vote.

The Soviet Union also believes that it is no less important to deprive nuclear war of a material basis, and for this it is necessary primarily to halt the unchecked arms race in the world. As a most effective and comparatively easily practicable measure in this area the USSR proposes a quantitative and qualitative freeze--given appropriate supervision--of nuclear arms. This step could be taken initially by the USSR and the United States, whose example would be followed by others.

The Soviet Union's peace initiatives gained extensive support in the United Nations and in the world. And this is understandable: they correspond to the vital interests of each peace-loving state, each person and the entire world community as a whole. "We do not separate the well-being of our people and the security of the Soviet state," Yu.V. Andropov emphasizes, "even less do we counterpose them to the well-being and security of other peoples, other countries. In the nuclear age the world cannot be viewed through the chink of narrow egotistical interests." Such is the fundamental position with which the USSR approaches a solution of all questions of complex international life. And this is the sole possible policy of preserving peace in our nuclear age.

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CSO: 1816/5

ARTICLE CLAIMS CURRENCY INTERVENTION BY WESTERN CENTRAL BANKS 'INEFFECTIVE'

[Editorial Report] Moscow MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA in Russian No 1, January 1984 carries on pages 130-133 a 2,300 word article by A. Tsimaylo entitled "Currency Intervention and Currency Rates" which answers letters from readers asking for clarification on the currency intervention process in capitalist countries. The article describes the process of rate adjustment in general, and notes that large rate fluctuations lead to great expenditures in insuring currency exchange risk and complicate the planning process for foreign trade and capital investment. The establishment of strict intervention guidelines under the Bretton Woods system and the 1973 change from a system of fixed to floating exchange rates is noted as background. The article describes current IMF policy as "vague," leading to a recommendation that central banks "avoid the manipulation of exchange rates and oppose a 'disorderly condition in the currency market' by conducting currency interventions." It breaks currency interventions by central banks into three types: 1) conducting operations to regulate exchange rates; 2) diversifying currency reserves and increasing central bank profit through use of foreign assets; and 3) regulate the internal money supply through changing the external component of currency reserves.

The author notes that guidelines for intervention are vague, that countries differ in their perception of what constitutes an orderly currency market, and that no agreement exists as to precisely which currencies should be stabilized, or as to the equilibrium level of currency rates. Western sources are quoted to claim that the results of intervention are not very influential in smoothing out currency rate fluctuations without great expenditures by central banks, using both figures from the FRG Bundesbank and "Friedman's criteria of profit" to back up the point. In conclusion, Tsimaylo asserts that the USA has shifted the burden of regulating currency relations onto other countries, intervening only when the rate of the dollar relative to other currencies sharply falls.

"When the dollar's rate has increased, the USA has practically not intervened to stabilize currency relations. This is especially clear in the current currency policy adopted in April 1981 by the Reagan administration, known as a policy of 'minimal interference.' The basis of this 'new' program is a rejection of a currency intervention under practically any circumstances. In this manner, all expenditures to regulate currency rates and a sharp rise in the rates for U.S. dollars, which is ruinous for West European

economies, are transferred to partners of the United States. Such a U.S. policy stimulates the dissatisfaction and criticism of other capitalist countries and aggravates contradictions among the basic centers of rivalry in the capitalist world."

CSO: 1825/78-P

REPORTS FROM SOVIET-JAPANESE ECONOMIC SYMPOSIUM SUMMARIZED

Moscow MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNNYE OTNOSHENIYA in Russian No 1, Jan 84
pp 134-137

[Ye. Leont'yeva report: "Soviet-Japanese Economists' Symposium"]

[Text] The 15th Soviet-Japanese Economists' Symposium was held 4-6 October 1983 in Moscow. A delegation headed by Prof T. Takeda (Tokyo Economic University) came to participate in the symposium. It included professors S. Okumura (Osaka University Institute of Economic Studies), H. Okumura (Nihon Seiken Economics Institute), H. Nakayama ((Meydzi Gakuin) University), (Ye. Nisimura) ((Khitotsubasi) University Institute of Economic Studies) and H. Nagayama and (T. Khorie) (Waseda University). The Soviet side was represented by doctors of economic sciences I. Gur'yev (head of the delegation), Ya. Pevzner and V. Khlynov (USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO)), V. Chichkanov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences (director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Far East Scientific Center Institute of Economic Studies), candidates of economic sciences N. Shlyk (Khabarovsk), Yu. Stolyarov, V. Zaytsev and I. Korolev (IMEMO) and others.

The Soviet-Japanese symposia have been conducted alternately in Moscow and Tokyo since 1966. Responsible for organizing them on the Japanese side is the Japanese Economists' Association, representing the leading universities and scientific research economics establishments of the country. The IMEMO and the USSR Academy of Sciences Far East Scientific Center Institute of Economic Studies (Khabarovsk) were for the first time the joint organizers of the 15th symposium.

In the greetings to the participants in the symposium Prof A. Yakovlev, doctor of historical sciences and IMEMO director, having wished them success, emphasized the factor of scientists' personal responsibility in the present very tense international atmosphere.

The first day of work opened with I. Korolev's paper "The Currency-Finance Situation in the Modern World: the Problem of Indebtedness". The speaker observed that the currency sphere has become a knot of the most acute contradictions between the developed capitalist and developing countries. Its increased instability, the unprecedented scale of international indebtedness and other currency disorders have been caused not only by economic crises

but the very system of relations based on the privileged position of the American dollar and the considerable dependence of the capitalist currency system on the zigzags of U.S. policy.

In turn, the currency sphere is exerting an increasingly great influence on the course of capitalist reproduction via the balance of payments, loan capital migration and exchange rate mechanism channels. Fluctuations of the latter are actively used as means of competition contributing to increased protectionism in international trade.

At the start of the 1980's the problem of the United States' foreign payments had intensified considerably, which was connected with the decline in American industry's competitiveness on world markets. The currency-finance position of the OPEC countries had deteriorated sharply, and the state of the balance of payments of the oil-importing developing countries remains extremely strained. A crisis situation has arisen in the sphere of international indebtedness, of the developing countries primarily. Thus foreign indebtedness has assumed a global nature.

At the same time, however, U.S. monetary-credit policy, which is geared to a rise in the dollar's exchange rate, has exacerbated the contradictions between the main capitalist countries, primarily between the United States and West Europe. The increased currency-finance disorders have again brought up the question of a reform of the international currency system. Formerly the main emphasis in the variety of plans of reform was put on the development of a supranational regulation mechanism. The current plans do not anticipate radical change and the creation of new supranational elements of the currency mechanism. The main thing is the endeavor to increase the coordination of currency and credit-monetary policy, primarily among the most developed capitalist countries.

The plans are aimed at increasing the role in international currency affairs of a limited number of states. The main group of countries, primarily developing, is assigned a passive role.

The privileged position of one country or group of countries in the international currency system and the attempts to solve difficulties at the expense of other states is increasing instability in the currency sphere. The speaker also observed that this instability and the policy of discriminatory "credit sanctions" against the USSR and the socialist community countries are jeopardizing the system of East-West trade-economic and credit-finance relations which has evolved.

As Prof S. Okumura observed during discussion of the paper, a principal cause of the exacerbation of the problem of the indebtedness of the developing countries is the fact that the credit they obtain is used to a considerable extent in the interest of the creditors--the Western countries. Prof T. (Khorie) pointed out that the main means of solving the problem of the developing states' indebtedness should be an acceleration of the growth of their exports. For this it is evidently necessary to implement a number of internal economic reforms. Concerning U.S. policy, T. (Khorie) declared that it is making the state of the American economy worse and in the long term will exert a pernicious influence on the development of the world economy.

This same thought was the central point in S. Okumura's paper, which was devoted to international economic aspects of R. Reagan's policy. The speaker began the analysis of long-term structural trends with the history of the coming into being, functioning and collapse of the postwar, essentially Americanocentrist system of international currency and foreign trade regulation within the framework of the IMF-GATT agreements. This system permitted not only the United States but also other capitalist states to ease the restrictions imposed by balances of payments on economic growth, which was an important factor of the development of the capitalist economy for a long period.

The capitalist economy's loss of "relative stability" in the 1970's and the state of long stagflation are a direct consequence of the breakup of this system. Also lost with its collapse was the uniform mechanism of controlling the world capitalist economy, which had lasted for quarter of a century. There was a further increase in contradictions among the three poles--the United States, Japan and West Europe.

At the same time, however, the unchecked development of inflation forced a number of states to switch from the stimulation of growth to credit-curb policy. This, in turn, exposed an overaccumulation of capital; the general decline in demand engendered the world crisis of the mid-1970's, which was comparable in its severity with the 1929 crisis. The failure of the Keynesian policy of stimulation of demand brought to the forefront the monetarists and the "supply-siders". Reagan's policy, which is based on their theory, led to an extraordinary rise in interest rates and plunged the American economy into the 1980-1982 crisis. The Reagan administration is cutting expenditure on social needs and has abandoned the "full employment" policy. It is striving for military superiority by way of increased militarization and also financial superiority by means of maintaining a "strong dollar".

Commenting on S. Okumura's paper, Yu. Stolyarov observed that in a number of areas the United States had strengthened its positions in the correlation of the three power centers. Thus the Reagan administration advanced a "reindustrialization" program aimed at an increase in labor productivity and the strengthening of the United States' positions in the key areas of scientific-technical progress. The main advantages of the American economy and its support in interimperialist rivalry are the strongest scientific-technical potential in the capitalist world and the international scale of the activity of the transnational monopolies.

Besides, the United States has managed to increase its military potential on an unprecedented scale and approach a qualitatively new twist of the arms race spiral. Taking advantage of its military superiority over West Europe and Japan, Yu. Stolyarov emphasized, the Reagan administration has switched to an economic, political, ideological and military offensive along the entire front of mutual relations with other states.

Candidate of Economic Sciences Vyach. Shenayev (Moscow Finance Institute) touched on the influence of currency processes on the development of the

capitalist economy exerted via the migration of loan capital. The role of leading reserve unit is preserved for the currency of the United States here, and its banking monopolies are strengthening their positions on the Eurocurrency market with the aid of a number of new international finance centers. The "interest rates war," in which practically all the leading capitalist states are involved, is causing a migration of loan capital which is ruinous for their monetary circulation.

Continuing the discussion of international currency-finance problems, Candidate of Economic Sciences V. Surovtseva (Moscow Finance Institute) spoke of the unevenness of the distribution of liquid assets (currencies and SDR's) in international turnover and the differences in their structure and investment between individual countries. It is with these circumstances that unequal terms of the granting of credit to the developing countries by the IMF and the private banks of the industrial states and ultimately the problem of the developing countries' international indebtedness are connected.

Ya. Pevzner dwelt on problems of the scientific-technical revolution and raised the question of the possible scale of the impact of the scientific-technical revolution on the economic growth rate via investment demand and the shifts in the structure of consumption and the reorganization of the entire economic structure.

The second day of the symposium was devoted to Japan's economy. Prof H. Okumura delivered a paper devoted to the entrepreneurial groups in Japan. He showed that the private corporations are the main sphere of capital accumulation and the concentration of wealth in the country. The ownership structure links the major companies in horizontal-type entrepreneurial associations ("syudan"), and large-scale, medium and small-scale companies in vertical groups ("keyretsu"). Both are characterized by the extensive development of interfirm credit and trade relations. A particular feature of the Japanese entrepreneurial structure is the high relative significance of interfirm commodity exchange based not on free market but stable partner relations.

The vertical groups unite mother and daughter companies on the one hand and multilink chains of subcontractors on the other. The Japanese system of vertical relations differs from the Western system in the inequality of relations (differences in wage levels depending on the size of the enterprise, the mother firms' transferring of risk to grouped firms), which maintains the high competitiveness of Japanese goods in international trade.

The horizontal associations of large-scale partner-companies represent diversified economic complexes with their own system of credit establishments and intermediate trade company. As distinct from the prewar ("dzaybatsu"), the six leading entrepreneurial associations of this type are not closed autarkical formations.

In the debate on H. Okumura's paper Candidate of Economic Sciences Ye. Leont'yeva (IMEMO) raised the question of the need for an analysis of the correlation of the organized relations and free competition in the entrepreneurial sector for a study of the mechanism of the structure of the

reorganization of the Japanese economy. I. Tselishchev (IMEMO) emphasized that the vertical and horizontal groupings perform the functions of a kind of nontariff barrier for foreign competitors. He also observed that the keenness of interfirm competition in Japan is connected with the high level of sectorial specialization of the companies and the relative autonomy of new enterprises, the creation of which is the main method of the assimilation of new sectors.

N. Smorodinskaya (IMEMO) dwelt on the financing structure and strategy of Japanese corporations, noting such new phenomena for the country as the growth of enterprise self-financing and the change in the forms of their relations with the banks within the framework of entrepreneurial associations. V. Khlynov touched on the problem of the breakup of such traditional features in the system of labor relations as hiring for life and remuneration depending on the length of service at one enterprise. Arguing with him, Prof T. Nagayama expressed the opinion that these traditional features of labor relations are merely being modified under the conditions of the reduced economic growth rate. The new demands of the scientific-technical revolution on the quality of manpower frequently devalue the qualifications acquired by long service.

V. Zaytsev's paper was devoted to the current stage of scientific-technical progress. Recent years, he observed, have demonstrated the Japanese economy's high degree of responsiveness to the crisis phenomena in the capitalist system. As a result of the oil crisis of the end of 1973 and the subsequent cyclical and structural crises of the mid-1970's, which were the most profound since the war, a change in the direction of a considerable reduction in the rate of growth occurred. At the same time such negative phenomena as, for example, the growth of unemployment and inflation are expressed in Japan less strongly than in other developed capitalist countries.

The basic content of the new stage of scientific-technical progress which began in Japan in the latter half of the 1970's is the assimilation of the latest science-intensive methods of production. The world press declares Japan the leader in the practical assimilation and efficient use of the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution. Government and business spheres of the United States and West Europe are speaking increasingly often about the menacing strengthening of Japan in the sphere of the production of progressive, technically intricate and science-intensive products.

The implementation of structural transformations requires a certain modification of the relations of business and the state. There is increased criticism in Japan's economic circles of certain directions of state intervention under the slogan of its inefficiency. Broad administrative-financial reform has begun in the country. It envisages a reduction in the rate of growth of state spending, mainly on social needs, a freezing of public work programs and the reprivatization of state enterprises experiencing serious financial difficulties. There is particular emphasis of the need to ensure the high viability and investment activeness of the private sector by way of the stimulation of competitive relations.

In the sphere of financial (budget) and credit-monetary regulation the role of the state is diminishing in almost all fields, but the significance of elaboration of economic development strategy is increasing.

Touching on the possible social consequences of the new directions of technical progress, V. Zaytsev emphasized that the introduction of microelectronics is leading to a change in the entire structure and organization of labor, the disqualification of many categories of workers (the traditional occupations in engineering, for example) and the intensification of labor.

During discussion of V. Zaytsev's paper Prof T. Nagayama observed that, besides modernization of the production forces, the scientific-technical revolution demands democratization of production relations. The current system of relations between labor and capital in Japan is in jeopardy since under the conditions of increased unemployment practically no one can prevent the employers aggravating work conditions.

S. Braginskiy (USSR Academy of Sciences Institutes of Oriental Studies) devoted his speech to an analysis of the correlation of the multiplicative effect of investments on GNP and the inflation process. He noted that the multiplier effect is realized through the mechanism of effective demand, in which consumer spending performs the decisive role. The dynamics of this spending are slowed under the conditions of a reduction in the rate of economic growth and increased unemployment. At the same time, however, the high-technology sectors which are coming to replace the material- and energy-consuming sectors as yet lack the potential for a rapid reduction in costs by way of the increased scale of production and cannot impede inflation. It was precisely in the 1970's that Keynesian methods of macroeconomic regulation did not justify themselves.

On the final day of the symposium V. Chichkanov briefly analyzed in his paper the role of the Far East in the development of the Soviet economy. He dwelt in detail on the formation of the optimum sectorial specialization of the region and the problems of food supply and the development of transport and the construction base. The Far East has become a quite important center of the extraction and production of a number of products which are important for the national economy. However, the present level of development far from fully corresponds to natural potential and economic requirements. It may be regarded rather as the starting level for a sharp upsurge of the region's economic might.

Supplementing V. Chichkanov's speech, Candidate of Economic Sciences A. Baranovskiy (USSR Gosplan), L. Nemzer (USSR Ministry of Foreign Trade), Candidate of Economic Sciences S. Diykov (All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Business Conditions), Doctor of Economic Sciences V. Loginov (USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics), Candidate of Economic Sciences N. Shlyk (Khabarovsk) and candidates of economic sciences V. Yakubovskiy and Yu. Stolyarov dwelt in detail on problems of Soviet-Japanese economic cooperation. B. Bolotin (IMEMO) informed the guests of the Soviet trade unions' powers when deciding questions of pay.

Prof (Ye. Nisimura's) paper, "Marx and Socialist Ownership," raised theoretical issues connected with the correlation of the planned economy and socialist ownership, particularly the problem of the combination of the centralized control of the national economy with the interests of the producers and consumers. The speaker counterposed state ownership and centralized control to the ownership and self-management of worker collectives. Arguing with the speaker, Ya. Pevzner emphasized that the efficiency of socialist ownership is inseparable from historically evolved systems of the control and management of the economy. It is they which determine the nature of interaction between state control and the independence of state enterprises.

Developing these propositions, I. Gur'yev pointed to the fact that in K. Marx's concept socialist ownership is a qualitatively new form of ownership which arises on the basis of the cooperation of workers free of exploitation. Taking the development of Marx's concept of socialist ownership in the theory and practice of the building of socialism in the USSR as the basis, Soviet scientists believe that the future of socialist ownership lies in the full use of all the potential afforded by centralized control of the national economy in combination with the realization of the rights of the collective and the individual worker.

In the unanimous opinion of the Japanese and Soviet scientists their latest meeting was of great benefit. The guests promised to make every effort for the success of the 16th symposium in Tokyo.

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BOOK ANALYZES WEST'S FOREIGN POLICY PROPAGANDA

Moscow MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA in Russian No 1, Jan 84
pp 138-139

[N. Vasetskiy review: "Ideological Sabotage of the Class Enemy"]

[Excerpts] V. Komarovskiy* has succeeded in comprehensively analyzing the class essence of imperialism's foreign policy propaganda and showing the hostility of its goals to the ideals of peace, socialism and social progress. "In propaganda against the USSR and other socialist countries," the book says, "these goals are manifested in an endeavor to insinuate into the minds of the masses by any methods and means bourgeois ideology and the bourgeois way of life, erode the state and social foundations of socialist society, ideologically disarm our people and undermine socialism from within" (p 15).

The work examines the functioning of the system of foreign policy propaganda and such basic structural components thereof as the highest guiding instance determining the general line of the activity of foreign policy propaganda, its strategy and tactics, coordinating bodies and scientific research institutes and the machinery for disseminating propaganda material and carrying out acts of subversion. The author points to the strengthening of the relations of the state and foreign propaganda machinery and their further integration and reveals the nature of the activity and material basis of the leading American bodies in the sphere of psychological warfare, particularly the ICA and the USIA. Merely the fact that by the end of the 1970's approximately 40 foreign radio stations were broadcasting to the USSR in 24 languages of the USSR peoples with a total broadcasting time in excess of 200 hours a day (p 23) testifies to the increased imperialist psychological diversion activity.

A significant place in the study is paid to Western mass media, primarily radio and television--the principal weapon of imperialism's foreign policy propaganda in general and subversive "work" against the USSR and the other socialist countries in particular. The author analyzes the conditions of their activity, the effectiveness of their impact on their audience, the forms of its realization, goals and the factors contributing to their achievement.

* V.S. Komarovskiy, "Lozh' na eksport. Analiz antisovetskikh aktsiy vneshnepoliticheskoy propagandy imperializma" [Lies for Export. An Analysis of Imperialism's Foreign Policy Propaganda], Moscow, Izdatel'stvo "Mysl", 1983, 143 pages.

Revealing the particular features of the mechanism of the functioning of the Western states' mass media, the author shows that the main means of "insinuating" bourgeois ideology in the socialist countries were and remain outright lies, the juggling of facts, a variety of insinuations and the manipulation of plausible information. These methods change depending on the situation and the demands of the day. "The development of the overall trend, however," he concludes, "is that enemy propaganda is becoming increasingly subtle. Individual facts torn from the context of reality are covered therein by a shroud of inventions, "suppositions" and conjectures in which it is not always easy for the ordinary person to sort things out" (p 59).

The attention which V. Komarovskiy pays to a description of the priority directions of hostile propaganda is natural. He studies the ways and methods of the dissemination of information with respect to a certain problem in a given ~~interval~~ of time, the way it is "addressed" in terms of a specific foreign audience, the preparation and dissemination of information material depending on this requirement and action or other of imperialist states both domestically and internationally and the functional organization of the media and components of the propaganda machinery (p 64).

In the example of two propaganda campaigns being pursued by imperialism--in defense of "human rights and liberties in the USSR" and the "Soviet military threat" myth--the work reveals the content and structure of such a long-term action, its organizational aspect and its connection with the political, economic and social interests of the monopoly bourgeoisie and the activity of the bourgeois state as a whole.

Among the book's most successful pages we may attribute those which analyze questions of the organization of a timely repudiation of the ideological diversions of the class enemy and the organization and activity of the counterpropaganda system. The author rightly emphasizes that "shortcomings and oversights in the sphere of ideological-educational work with the population and, as a consequence, the existence in the minds of the population of a 'vacuum' of socialist ideas or their incomplete, superficial assimilation, insufficient understanding of the essence and so forth are often the loop-hole through which bourgeois ideology penetrates" (p 102). He is undoubtedly right when as a principal criterion of an intensification of counterpropaganda work he highlights the need for a person's active participation in the struggle for socialism as a most telling condition of the assimilation of socialist ideology in the entire fullness of its content (p 108).

In our view, the experience of activity in the sphere of counterpropaganda accumulated by many party organizations, particularly of Moscow, Belorussia, the Far East and others, merits special examination, collation and dissemination. This is all the more important in that the CPSU Central Committee June (1983) Plenum pointed to the urgency of such research.

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ANTIWAR VIEWS OF FRG PUBLIC FIGURE LAUDED

Moscow MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNNYE OTNOSHENIYA in Russian No 1, Jan 84
pp 142-144

[L. Istyagin review: "American Missiles and West German Catholics"]

[Text] Europe and the world are experiencing a most dramatic moment in their history. The U.S. Administration and NATO have embarked on the implementation of the ominous plan to deploy in a number of West European countries, contrary to the clearly expressed will of their populations, new American nuclear weapons capable of and designed to destabilize the strategic situation and thereby sharply increase the threat of a world thermonuclear war. However, the actions of the Atlantic ultramilitarists are encountering the resistance of the masses and broad public strata, which is growing with every passing day. The appearance of the first Tomahawks and Pershings 2's on the European continent not only has not undermined the antiwar movement, as Washington and circles in satellite countries obedient to it were hoping, but has spurred and stimulated it even more and brought about a wave of mass protests in defense of peace which are unprecedented, what is more, in European and world history.

A characteristic feature of the current stage of the antiwar movement is the affiliation with this noble struggle or support for it in this form or the other on the part of groups and forces which hitherto occupied an emphatically neutral and sometimes hostile position. Just such a process is developing, in particular, in West German Catholicism, which embraces, according to the data of official statistics, roughly 44 percent of FRG citizens.

As distinct from Protestants, the other leading church of the FRG, West German Catholics do not have significant antimilitarist traditions. When, in the 1950's, a number of evangelist figures opposed remilitarization, their position found no marked response in the Catholic milieu. It may be claimed without risk of exaggeration that it was precisely the Catholic Church leadership's approval of CDU/CSU policy which made possible to a great, if not decisive, extent the development of the Bundeswehr, its incorporation in

* Franz Alt, "Frieden ist moeglich. Die Politik der Bergpredigt," Piper and Co. Verlag, Munich-Zurich, 1983, 119 pages.

NATO and the FRG's subsequent "contributions" to the arms race and the spurring of tension. It is in its own way logical that the Catholic hierarchs hastened to express their complete agreement with the NATO decision to deploy missiles in the FRG, condemning not only any criticism thereof but also the least doubts as to its correspondence to the highest criteria of Christian morality.

But on this occasion--and virtually for the first time since the war, what is more--the finely tuned mechanism of "will-formation" in the Catholic system and the imposition on the masses of the ideas and stereotypes approved by the upper strata manifestly failed to operate. Ordinary Catholics, and often priests too, particularly among the young people, began to take part in 1981-1982 even together with their Protestant colleagues in anti-war demonstrations. This became mass participation in the spring and, even more, in the "hot autumn" of 1983, albeit inferior in scale to the activeness of the evangelicals. The "Church From Below" antiwar current, which rejects the NATO policy of "rearmament," emerged and strengthened within the framework of Catholicism. Similar demands were formulated by the German Catholic Youth Union, which has about 700,000 members, many Catholic student organizations, influential Catholic charitable organizations (of the Pax Christi type) and so forth.

The case of the well-known Catholic commentator and publisher and CDU member Franz Alt testifies very vividly to the acuteness of the moral dilemma encountered by the FRG's believing Catholics, who had hitherto demonstrated in disciplined fashion "Atlantic solidarity," but who are now beginning to recognize the soundness of antimilitarism. Quite recently even the latter not only himself shared the "security by means of arms" concept but persistently propagandized NATO decisions, including the riskiest of all of them--the "twin" decision--on missile deployment. He is now apologizing to his readers and listeners for having confused them and categorically rejects "rearmament". F. Alt argues his position in detail and substantiates it in the book "Peace Is Possible. Politics. of the Sermon on the Mount".

The fate of this work is interesting. The reactionary pro-NATO press rained down crude attacks on it. The fashionable "anti-Alt" genre appeared even--articles and brochures came to be published devoted entirely to "repudiating" the commentator who had "gone off the rails". However, the fashionable, well-coordinated propaganda campaign did not harm Alt in the eyes of the public. On the contrary, it added to his popularity. The repeatedly "repudiated" book sold like hot cakes, in continuously larger editions. It was reported that priests were using it in their sermons, teachers quoted it at social science lessons and that extracts were read from it from the theater stage and concert platforms.

Such experts on the problem in the FRG as Generals G. Bastian and (V. Iudissin) or the well-known researcher and former Bundeswehr officer A. Mechtersheimer have declared repeatedly in their works the impermissibility of the deployment of the new American missiles and new twists to the arms race spiral. On specialist issues and a comparison of different types of arms the author of the book in question relies on the conclusions of these well-known experts.

the critics should, it would have seemed, have refuted the facts themselves, which have been reliably analyzed by competent experts in military affairs.

Why, then, were the attacks of the reactionary mass media aimed in this case precisely at F. Alt? The point is that he appeals to the conscience of his readers and listeners and reveals to fellow Catholic believers the moral and religious--whence the appeal to the Sermon on the Mount--groundlessness of the arms race and military preparations, nuclear particularly.

While not displaying a hint of unfriendliness toward the United States and emphatically rejecting any anti-Americanism, the author cannot help but shudder in the face of the infinite hypocrisy, falsity and specially religious blasphemy with which the present U.S. Administration and its personal head spice each latest plan of theirs to manufacture the most refined implements of death. What do moral principles amount to here? Can they really justify preparations to destroy everything living on Earth?--such are the questions which besiege F. Alt as a believing Catholic and which he can answer in no way other than negatively.

Having played out a scenario of the West's first use of nuclear weapons in World War III, which it is planning, President Reagan, as is customary, spoke idly in front of journalists: "I pray that I will never have to use these terrifying nuclear weapons." F. Alt cannot excuse this shameless speculation.

"Whoever prays that he will not have to use nuclear weapons," he writes, "is attempting to shift onto God responsibility for the possible use of nuclear weapons. God as a scapegoat for the most terrifying crime in human history!! And all this is sanctified by religion.... Attempts are made to make religion a screen for the crime. After all, this is the sort of religiosity involved in christening a nuclear submarine 'Corpus Christi'" (the official name given to one of the United States' latest nuclear missile submarines--L.I.) (pp 71-72).

F. Alt's opponents reproached him for one-sidedness and for, while angrily exposing Western politicians, allegedly being too lenient toward the Soviet Union and other socialist states. This is incorret. F. Alt is a consistent conservative. Any sympathy toward socialism is totally alien to him. His fervently championed evangelical principle of "love thy enemy" does not prevent him revealing his prejudice toward socialist social practices and political institutions.

He pays the routine tribute to the propaganda stereotypes concerning the USSR's imaginary "equal guilt" in the increasing international tension which is taking place and refers, as is habitual in the West, sometimes to the "Afghan question," the events in Poland or the human rights "infringements" allegedly occurring in the socialist countries. But what can he do if all these "questions," however much they may be exaggerated, simply do not compare with the threat to the very existence of civilized humanity engendered by the nuclear superarms being speeded up by the United States

and NATO? F. Alt would not, of course, have bypassed facts attesting Soviet leadership in the arms race. But he does not find such facts for they do not exist in reality, and as an honest man, does not deem it possible to believe the false, unsubstantiated (although once again frequently with references to the Lord God) assertions of U.S. Defense Secretary Weinberger and his Bonn colleague Woerner. Truly, the author is not to blame for the least in the "one-sidedness" which appears in him: it reflects actual reality, to which he prefers not to close his eyes.

Having gauged the depth of the abyss which is ready to open up in our day before the world of people, F. Alt concludes that only one political act can in the current situation earn full moral justification--the unconditional renunciation of nuclear war. "Nuclear war," he writes, "is impermissible from a Christian viewpoint" (p 72).

But, after all, it is precisely the socialist world which advocates in the international arena the impermissibility of nuclear war. It was precisely the USSR and the other socialist states which proposed condemnation of such a war at the last UN General Assembly session. If the example of the USSR, which has renounced first use of nuclear weapons, were followed by the other states which possess them, precisely what F. Alt fervently desires would come about--nuclear war would become impossible. The whole point, however, is that it is precisely the "highly moral and devout" politicians of the West who are oriented toward first use of nuclear weapons and are counting on victory in a nuclear war, reassuring Europe with the fact that they will try to limit such a war...to Europe. F. Alt cannot fail to take this into consideration. And however little he likes it (and he does not like it), between his "Christian" viewpoint and the position of the peace-loving forces both in the West and in the East there arises a parallelism and, sometimes, direct concurrence, while between his approach, which is dictated by morality and elementary commonsense, and the policy of the United States and NATO a striking discrepancy. The author, strictly speaking, is an "innocent victim" here before the ultra-Atlantists.

We have to give F. Alt his due: he has boldness of thinking and does not fear, as is sometimes the case, conclusions from his own premises, even when these conclusions repudiate certain of his former views. Having until quite recently fully trusted the leaders of his party, the author now criticizes the government headed by the CDU/CSU for following Washington's dangerous course. Quoting the pronouncement of the American General Rogers, supreme commander in chief of NATO, to West German journalists ("Inasmuch as we have gaps in the conventional sphere, in the event of a conflict we would have to very quickly use nuclear weapons"), F. Alt reasonably observes: "It is not hard to imagine in whose country nuclear bombs would be used first. Could German interests ever amount to it being made a nuclear battlefield...?" (p 69)

The author does not attempt to escape to metaphysical heights from the actual question of what needs to be done right now, in the present complex situation. His answer is clear and unequivocal: "no 'rearmament,' no new steps in the former direction, at least a halt to arms--as a first step in a

new direction" (p 81). He demands the unconditional renunciation of the deployment in the FRG and West Europe as a whole of the new American nuclear missiles. "Whoever calls for the disarmament of the Soviet Union," the work emphasizes, "should first himself end arming and rearming" (*ibid.*).

It is significant that the West German press also tried to criticize F. Alt for, so to speak, the "modesty" and "uninspired nature" of his proposals, which are not, allegedly, up to his "universal" moral preaching. In reality this is precisely the strong aspect of his position: he does not convince himself to general appeals and arguments but attempts, as far as he is able, to adopt a maximally specific approach to the present tension and feel his way toward reducing it.

And if the author of the book in question, and this, strictly speaking, is what his critics are in fact unhappy at, has proposed as a result of intensive reflection precisely what the mass antiwar movement in the FRG has written on its banners, this is not his "fault" but the categorical imperative of the current moment which he has clearly recognized. He has merely confirmed the unconditional soundness and efficacy of the motto advanced by millions of fighters for peace--prevent the deployment of the new American missiles in West Europe and thereby create the sole dependable prerequisite for the preservation and consolidation of European and international security.

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RESUMED U.S.-FRENCH COOPERATION EXAMINED

Moscow MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA in Russian No 1, Jan 84
pp 145-146

[V. Gantman review: "Imperialist 'Solidarity' and Political Independence"]

[Excerpts] In postwar history the evaluation of the relations of the United States and France has not always been simple and straightforward. This is a most confused and contradictory phenomenon of international life which is invariably developing dynamically.

The appearance of the book in question* has coincided with a period of considerable changes in Franco-American relations, changes with causes of their own. Revealing them is a task of the researcher requiring a certain historical depth of analysis. And the author's attention to the period of the birth of the independent course of France counterposed to the Atlantism imposed by the United States is therefore natural. After all, it was precisely then that there took shape the fundamental foreign policy lessons which cannot be forgotten by present-day France, whatever attendant, situational circumstances may have arisen during the abrupt twists of history on the eve and at the outset of the 1980's, pushing it from its chosen and practice-proven path.

The book draws the conclusion that the Caribbean crisis performed a significant role in shaping the French leadership's new approach to the international realities of the latter half of the 1960's. It was the point of departure for the development of a new correlation of forces in the world arena, which by the end of the 1960's had led to strategic parity. This thought, which also permits an evaluation of Paris' actions, is profoundly substantiated in the work. The situation that was created at this turning point in American-French relations required an analysis of the manifestations of the foreign policy of Presidents J. Kennedy and L. Johnson which were directly or indirectly connected with the extensive changes in C. de Gaulle's foreign policy strategy and the specific decision to withdraw France from NATO's military organization. The attention to the United States' foreign policy on the basis of important primary sources has made the author's reflections convincing and accurate.

* S.B. Vorontsova, "SShA i Frantsiya. Sopernichestvo i partnerstvo" [The United States and France. Rivalry and Partnership], Moscow, Izdatel'stvo "Mezhdunarodnyye otnosheniya," 1983, 127 pages.

As the monograph rightly emphasizes, France was able to reorganize its positions in European and world politics precisely because, having divorced itself from the Atlantic bloc's military organization, it acquired freedom of maneuver and strove for the priority of its national interests. All this was maintained after de Gaulle also, under presidents G. Pompidou and, partly, V. Giscard d'Estaing. A result of the said reorganization was also the fact that in the dialogue with East Europe, as the author notes with complete justification, "Gaullist France was...a pioneer" (p 23). Soviet-French cooperation was the first model of detente and, as the practice of international relations of the start of the 1970's shows, prompted many of the favorable processes in European and world politics which led to the convening of the All-European Conference in Helsinki.

Evaluating the positive changes in France's relations with the USSR and the other socialist countries, the author shows that they also influenced the foreign policy of the then Washington leaders. "The policy of France and, subsequently, the FRG aimed at recognition of the realities in Europe and relaxation of tension served," we read in the book, "as a significant stimulus compelling Washington to take the path of a critical revision of certain elements of its policy and speed up the process of the normalization of relations with the USSR" (p 31).

A more obvious change in the policy of France's ruling circles in the direction of a rapprochement with the United States and NATO as a whole was, as the book rightly notes, connected with the exacerbation of the international situation on the eve and at the outset of the 1980's. The epicenter of the negative changes in international relations was in Washington, which made considerable efforts to have Paris join in the implementation of NATO plans and programs and the hard-line "power" policy in respect of the USSR and other socialist states. Evaluating the situation which had taken shape at this time realistically, the author emphasizes that "France, remaining a leading country of present-day imperialism, displayed many examples of general imperialist solidarity" (p 93). This applies both to its military preparations and its policy line in the international arena.

Of course, hopes of preserving the independent positions which it had hitherto gained were not abandoned in France. Sometimes (on the question of the "gas for pipes" deal, say) the forces which hold, as before, to such positions proved dominant. Paris was worried by the R. Reagan administration's sharply antidependence line and endeavored to keep its distance from Washington's "power" strategy and its policy of confrontation with the USSR. French foreign policy proceeded here, as the book rightly shows, from considerations of national security and the need for economic relations with the USSR and other socialist countries. The differences between the United States and France on the issue of East-West relations are supplemented by rivalry at the level of two imperialist "centers"--the American and West European--in the economic sphere and in relations with developing countries.

Despite the continuing contradictions in many spheres, the start of the 1980's is providing many examples of increased American-French cooperation. It is

sufficient to recall in this connection the coordination of the actions of Paris and Washington in Chad. For this reason we have to agree with the author when she defines the dialectics of relations between the United States and France as rivalry and partnership. And this definition is in no way contradicted by the proposition that France, relying on the positions it has won in European and world politics and, obviously, not being about to forfeit them, aspires to pursue an independent policy which frequently wittingly or unwittingly runs counter to Washington's foreign policy. It is difficult to assume that, given some attendant situation circumstances, Paris will consciously sacrifice the independence which it has achieved in a very complex struggle against U.S. pressure. It is this we see as the main conclusion of S. Vorontsova's book, which is interesting in the material it studies and profound in analysis and concept.

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EFFECT OF MILITARIZATION ON DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Moscow MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA in Russian No 1, Jan 84
pp 149-150

[I. Yegorov review: "The Developing Countries in Imperialism's Military Strategy"]

[Text] The books in question* are devoted to a relatively little-studied question: the place of the emergent countries in imperialism's military strategy and in the process of militarization which it has unleashed and the disastrous consequences of this process for the accomplishment of development tasks.

Relying on a vast amount of factological and statistical material, the authors show that the spread of the "cancer" of militarism is a far from chance process. There are powerful forces, primarily the U.S. military-industrial complex, with a direct interest in the arms race and its spread to increasingly new countries and regions. Employing all means and pretexts to maintain an atmosphere of fear, mistrust, hostility and military hysteria both in relations between states and within individual countries, these forces have created and aspire to strengthen a truly global system of militarization. And this system, which is already acquiring self-powered characteristics, is beginning to reproduce itself on an expanded scale, furthermore, and is increasingly threatening the existence of life on Earth.

Figures testify convincingly to the growing dimensions of the menacing danger. Thus over \$6 trillion have been spent on the arms race since the war, including more than \$2 trillion in the last 5 years (I, p 127; II, p 126). In the 1970's, which the United Nations declared the first "disarmament decade," world arms exports, two-thirds of which go to the emergent countries, increased fourfold, while overall spending on military purposes in the group of young independent states increased twice as quickly as their gross domestic product (I, p 95; II, pp 77, 117).

* I. E.S. Nukhovich, "Gonka vooruzheniy i osvobodivshiyesa strany" [The Arms Race and the Emergent Countries], Moscow, Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatel'stva "Nauka," 1982, 208 pages.

II. "Problemy razoruzheniya i razvivayushchiyesya strany" [The Problem of Disarmament and the Developing Countries], Moscow, Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatel'stva "Nauka," 1983, 184 pages.

The reasons for the buildup of military potential in different developing countries are dissimilar: in some cases they are connected with the need for defense against the forces of imperialism or its accomplices, in others with the reactionary foreign policy and pro-imperialist goals of the ruling circles of certain emergent states (I, p 129; II, pp 17, 78-79). At the same time the authors show convincingly that the principal factors of the arms race and the growing military danger are engendered by imperialism, primarily U.S. imperialism.

As E. Nukhovich rightly observes, the arms race is today becoming not only a tool of the subordination and exploitation of developing countries but also "a means of the redistribution of spheres and zones of influence and also the establishment of domination within the framework of the world capitalist economy" (I, p 15).

American imperialism, sometimes directly and openly, sometimes by way of secret agreements and understandings and sometimes under the flag of trans-national corporations and private military business--is endeavoring to include the young independent states in its global "battle order," flouting the sovereign rights of the peoples to free and independent development, peace, national security and life even. For this purpose it is engaging in numerous actions essentially aimed at the creation and strengthening of a global military machine under Washington's aegis. These include perfection of an overseas system of foreign bases and facilities, the number of which is currently over 1,500 (II, chapter 3); inciting some developing countries against others and unleashing and encouraging military conflicts in various parts of the world; converting certain emergent states with reactionary regimes into "strong points" of American militarism and rendering them massive military "aid" (I, p 110; II, pp 44-48); creating "rapid deployment forces"; internationalizing military production as a new form of the developing countries' dependence on imperialism (I, pp 81-84); and so forth. Other leading capitalist powers--Britain, France, the FRG, Italy and Japan--are also joining actively in the militarization process inspired by Washington.

Examining the political economy aspects of contemporary militarism, E. Nukhovich expresses the opinion that the development of an international military state-monopoly system is directly connected with the process of the formation of "international state-monopoly capitalism," which, he believes, is already functioning and whose economic foundation "is international finance capital" (pp 20-21). This proposition appears to us somewhat rectilinear and one-sided for a number of reasons. First, it plays down the significance of the contradictions between nationally exclusive state-monopoly structures and, consequently, does not make it possible to reveal the specific features of their interaction in the military sphere. Second, it fails to take account of the different thrust and different quality content of such processes as the formation of international finance capital and the creation of the international military system of imperialism. Third, the said proposition glosses over the fact that the global military system which is being created is essentially a pro-American system imposed by U.S. imperialism for the achievement of its own strategic goals contrary to the interests of both the developing countries and other Western states. The data contained in the book convincingly confirm this proposition.

At the same time there is no doubt that Washington's actions are serving as the catalyst for increased military preparations in other capitalist powers, primarily in the NATO countries, and are unleashing a kind of "chain reaction" of militarism internationally. The forces attempting to create a global military machine of imperialism are truly impressive. In order to oppose them powerful forces armed, furthermore, with a clear consciousness of their responsibility for the fate of mankind, an understanding of their responsibility for the fate of mankind, an understanding of the causes of the growing military threat and a knowledge of the ways and forms of combating it on a world scale are needed. "All peoples, each inhabitant of our planet," Yu. V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, observed in his statement, "must be aware of the impending danger. Aware in order to unite their efforts in the struggle for their own existence."

We would note in conclusion that the assessment of the present state of the antiwar movement contained in the works in question could have been more discursive and thorough. Both in the West and in the developing countries the process of mass recognition of the global nature of the military danger has accelerated and the activity of the peace forces has been stepped up. However, the extent of this recognition and the scale of the real struggle in support of peace and disarmament do not as yet, we believe, fully and always correspond to the true proportions of the threat hanging over the world and the tremendous scale of the arms race being conducted by imperialism.

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